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**Research towards a better future**  
**Neoliberalism, global citizenship and international volunteering**

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Research towards a better future: neoliberalism, global citizenship and international volunteering

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## **Abstract**

This thesis discusses the British government's construction of global citizenship on its recently launched (2011) International Citizen Service (ICS) programme that sends volunteers abroad to work on international development projects. The thesis has two objectives. The first is to understand global citizenship on the ICS programme as it takes shape in a climate of neoliberal policy making. The second is to produce a piece of 'socially engaged' research that looks towards a better future. The thesis unfolds as an account of global citizenship as it is produced through the discursive rationalities and circulated affects that have come to define contemporary modes of neoliberal governance. This part of the discussion argues that through ICS the government constructs a markedly neoliberalised version of global citizenship, based on "soft" understandings of development and a heavy emphasis on self-advancement. The inquiry then moves on to consider research performances and how best to conceptualise the relationship between power and people. The case is made that power-centric accounts can reinforce the dominance of power and consequently 'a better future' in research might explore the aspects of social life that do not defer to expressions of power. Taking this position to ethnographic data collected from ICS project sites in India the thesis then examines the ways that volunteers contest, subvert and resist the government's version of global citizenship. As a response to the earlier exploration of rationalities and affects, the presentation of the data illustrates the ways that volunteers on the one hand critically engage with development issues while on the other establish strong affective relationships with host communities. Together, these perspectives show volunteers capable of resisting neoliberal iterations of global citizenship. Instead, the volunteers on the ICS programme practice creative and affective interpretations of global citizenship that, in important ways, transcend the impositions of power and, in so doing, look towards a better future.

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“Global citizenship” has become prominent in British political discourse. It is variously a national curriculum “key concept” (DfES 2005), a “key output” of development policy (DfID 2012) and a tool to push British business overseas (FCO 2001). Most recently, global citizenship has been evoked by the Department for International Development (DfID) for its International Citizen Service (ICS), an international volunteering programme that is part of the Coalition Government’s Big Society agenda. The programme is sending 18-25 year-old volunteers abroad to ‘fight poverty and help the world’s poorest’ and to build ‘a bigger and stronger global civil society’ (DfID 2011a). This ‘flagship’ policy was piloted and rolled out in 2011 and before the end of the current parliament ICS will have sent 7,000 young British people abroad as global citizens.

The programme arrives at a time when international volunteering is hugely popular and is looked on by governments, NGOs and development charities as a panacea for stilted development both at home and abroad (Lorimer 2009). According to its advocates international volunteering has much to offer to the formation of global citizenship: volunteers can make ‘meaningful’ emotional connections (Smith et al. 2010); cross ‘racial, cultural and social boundaries’ (Raymond and Hall 2008); promote democracy (Dekker and Van den Broek 1998) and even ‘foster world peace’ (Higgins-Desbiolles 2003; Peace Through Tourism 2006). Imagined this way volunteering is an aggregation of concerns for other people that leads to cooperation in a ‘civil sphere’ that is ‘differentiated from the economy and the state’ (Cohen and Arato 1992, 18), and not ‘tainted’ by ‘contractual or market exchange relationships’ (Boulet et al. 2008, 29). These capacities of volunteering make ICS a potentially exciting piece of policy that might work towards greater awareness, justice and a more equitable future.

But of course ICS may be none of these things. As part of the Big Society agenda, the British Government’s latest rationale for managing the third sector, it forms part of a wider Conservative project of ‘improving accountability and value for money through techniques like payment-by-results [and] competitive tendering’ (Conservative Party 2009a), an approach that might seem at odds with the ideal of volunteering as part of an autonomous civil sphere. Add to this a recent history of British Governments courting active forms of citizenship as part of neoliberal shifts to a smaller state (Clarke et al. 2007a) and a longer history of sending its citizens Southwards, and there is ample cause for concern regarding the state’s presence in volunteering and matters of global citizenship (Demos 2011). The British Government’s implementation of ICS, therefore, invites inquiry

into the ways that neoliberalism might work through the programme and subsequent understandings and practices of global citizenship.

This research takes ICS as a case study to discuss global citizenship and the ways it takes shape under the current political economy of neoliberalism. The empirical work of the thesis provides an account of the Government's construction of global citizenship and the ways this plays out on the ground in international volunteering. The thesis is intended as a piece of "socially engaged" research that remains aware of its research performances of power and subjectivity. The implications of this are revisited and developed throughout the thesis.

Today I can announce International Citizen Service, to give thousands of our young people, those who couldn't otherwise afford it, the chance to see the world and serve others.

Last century, America's Peace Corps inspired a generation of young people to act, and this century, I want International Citizen Service to do the same thing.

That's the Big Society spirit, around the world and back here at home.

So that great project in your community - go and lead it.

The waste in Government - go and find it.

That new school in your neighbourhood - go and demand it.

The beat meeting on your street - sign up.

The neighbourhood group - join up.

That business you always dreamt - start up.

When we say "we are all in this together" that is not a cry for help, it's a call to arms.

Society is not a spectator support.

This is your country.

It's time to believe it.

It's time to step up and own it.

- David Cameron, October 2010.



The original (left) and current ICS logos. The programme was rebranded mid-2013.

The ICS programme aims to create ‘global citizens’ who ‘fight poverty’ and ‘build global civil society’ by volunteering on international development projects (DfID 2011a). Critical attention is therefore directed by important debates within research on international volunteering to do with subjectivity and citizenship and the way they take shape on volunteer programmes. Separate but connected literatures focus on global civil society and international development and contribute to an understanding of the ways that global citizenship is constructed by stakeholders and practiced by volunteers. In a large part of these literatures, researchers frame discussion through (various understandings of) neoliberalism and neocolonialism, a focus that has resulted in a robust critique of international volunteering and global citizenship centred on the presence of neoliberal power.

The following discussion situates this research project in these relevant literatures and is organised by their broad themes. Accordingly, the discussion begins with the idea of global citizenship, its ambiguity and the ways it has been approached in research on international volunteering. This is followed by a shorter section on global civil society and its own parallel ambiguities and consideration of how they might inform the research project. The final section begins a discussion on neoliberalism and sets out its use for the purposes of this research. At the close of the chapter I set out the project’s lines of inquiry.

### **1.1 Global citizenship**

The idea of global citizenship has come to mean many things to many groups. Often these meanings are contradictory and have, at best, uneasy relationships with the power of both state and inter-state governance. Here I give a brief history of global citizenship before discussing literatures that relate it to international volunteering.

The history of citizenship is bound to the post-Westphalian scaling up from the city- to the nation-state. Within the clearly-bounded sovereign state a commitment grew between its government and its population where rights and duties embed the population in a shared social, political and economic life with minimal interference from outside (Isin 2002). The geographical borders around the citizens delimited citizenship and those outside were excluded physically, bureaucratically (Torpey 2000) or culturally (Brubaker 1992; 1996; Leca 1992), resulting in a state-orientated formation of citizenship. Recent decades have gradually seen this model of citizenship give ground to more transnational models that reflect the (relatively) new scales of governance, responsibilities and shared cultures that

place subjects in both *de facto* and *de jure* relationships with others across the globe. This has led to various iterations of “global citizenship” in academic writing, including ‘cosmopolitan citizenship’ (Linklater 1996; 1998; Archibugi 1998; 2000; Held 2004), ‘transnational citizenship’ (Weinstock 2001; Pogge 2004) and ‘post-national citizenship’ (Tambini 2001; Sassen 2003). These forms of global citizenship are variously connected with a broad range of themes: Kantian universalism (Walzer 1998; Nussbaum 2010); the ‘spirit of ‘68’ and protest (Chandhoke 1995; Kaldor 2003); NGOs (Desforges 2004); colonialism (Pagden 2000; Bowden 2003); transnational elites (Yeoh et al. 2003) and postmodern, post-Marxist revolution (Hardt and Negri 2000).

Recurrent within much of this literature is the presence of critical positions on power where duties and responsibilities to other people across the globe put citizens at odds with state and inter-state expressions of political and economic power. Rhys Griffiths provides a useful synthesis of critical versions of global citizenship where a ‘shared agenda’ tied to ethical duties to others gives rise to a global citizen who is

not merely aware of her rights but able and desirous to act upon them; of an autonomous and inquiring critical disposition; but her decisions and actions tempered by an ethical concern for social justice and the dignity of humankind; therefore able, through her actions, [to contribute to] the commonwealth, the public welfare, with a sense of civic duty to replenish society. (2000, 17)

‘Critical disposition’ and ‘action’ are the defining terms of this understanding of global citizenship: one leads to the other in an expression of ethical concern for others. Important, too, is the conviction within this understanding that there exists in an “outside” from which global citizens can challenge the “inside”. Where this finds its most radical proponents is among those global citizens who target what are commonly cited as neoliberalism’s centres of power, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and elite groups such as the G8 and individual governments. Mobilised by the ‘obscene nature of the [world’s] gross inequalities’ (Piachaud 2008, 154), these global citizens protested at Seattle and Genova and are ideologically anti-capitalist (anti-state, even) – and they are figures routinely marginalised in the mainstream media as ‘anti-globalisation’ (Biccum 2007). In Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s important thesis on International Relations and revolution, *Empire*, these global citizens are evoked in the ‘struggle’ over subjectivity: ‘global citizenship is the multitude’s power to reappropriate control over space and thus to design the new cartography’ (2000, 400).



From this perspective global citizenship rises out of an ever more inter-connected world in which the same channels that are opened by transnational corporations and governance open also the possibility (and necessity) of the “bottom up” mobilisation of citizens. “Re-appropriating” these channels aims at disrupting the progression of neoliberal globalisation and seeks to provide a ‘counterweight to hegemonic power’ (Baker 2002; Chandler 2004). The call to action is here a defining feature that has made these forms of ‘critical global citizenship’ an important subject position for groups concerned with checking what are perceived as anti-democratic and unjust practices within the current neoliberal world order (Andreotti 2006).

From a different perspective, there is a large body of literature that explores the ways that global citizenship is promoted by both governments and business to render global citizens products of, rather than resistant to, neoliberal power. For instance, researchers have drawn attention to the way that the geographies of global citizenship seem inextricable from the distribution of geopolitical power:

[t]he ‘global’ in the dominant discourse is the political space in which a particular dominant local seeks global control, and frees itself of local, national and international restraints. The global does not represent the universal human interest; it represents a particular local and parochial interest which has been globalised through the scope of its reach. The seven most powerful countries, the G7, dictate global affairs, but the interests that guide them remain narrow, local and parochial. (Shiva 1998, 231)

The evocation of ‘global’ in global citizenship in this reading is, notes Andrew Dobson, ‘an asymmetrical process in which not only its fruits are divided up unequally, but also in which the very possibility of ‘being global’ is unbalanced’ (2005, 262). Brett Bowden also notes an asymmetry, arguing that global citizenship originates from ‘the cosmopolitan, globalised, liberal-democratic Western world that constitutes ‘the centre’ and is therefore exclusive: ‘it is a world which outsiders are welcome to join (or are drawn to), only so long as they measure up or are happy to conform to Western values’ (2003, 355). Such ‘Western values’ have become central to global citizenship as it is promoted by Western governments and corporations in a way that disguises ‘asymmetrical globalisation [and] unequal power relations’ by imagining ‘we are all equally connected’ in a project of, what Vanessa Andreotti terms ‘sanctioned ignorance’ (2006, 45). Andreotti’s distinction between such ‘soft global citizenship’ and the ‘critical global citizenship’, associated with anti-globalisation movements, at this early point proves a useful typology of the varying relations different iterations of global citizenship can have with power.

A prominent example of “soft” global citizenship that is particularly relevant to international volunteering for development is provided by April Biccum who has written on the way that the British Department for International Development (DfID) has used events such as Live8 as a ‘megaspectacle of global citizenship’ with the ‘real aim to produce ‘little developers’ imbued with the capability to go out and do the developing’ (2007, 1114):

[t]he mobilisation of development awareness in the UK attempts to produce a subjectivity particularly appropriate for a globalising world, that is, a ‘Global Citizen’ who advocates development under neoliberal terms [...] subject-producing mobilisations have operated as a theatre of legitimation for the neoliberal agenda. (ibid., 1112)

By this reading, development as it is discursively constructed by DfID, attempts to foster global citizens with ‘an attitude and aptitude for neoliberal globalisation’ (ibid., 1117). In this way global citizenship is seen as little more than a subject-making strategy designed to align a population with the neoliberal development policies of the British state. Given that ICS is managed by DfID and its partners this reading will prove an important context when considering the types of global citizenship the programme attempts to encourage in volunteers.

A tangential but relevant body of work to consider is research that tracks the revitalisation of citizenship in British social policy since the 1980s. There is a great amount of work in this area focussed on the construction of active citizenship through various institutions in British society, examples include: Housing Associations (Kearns 1992); the Neighbourhood Watch scheme (Fyfe 1995; Clarke et al. 2007); the Prince’s Trust (Oliver 1991); the Citizen’s Charter (Fyfe 1995); the Crick Report (Haste 2004; Pykett 2007); the National Health Service (Poole 2000) and education (Mitchell 2003; Ross 2007). These studies illustrate the ways that policy implementation through institutions of the state and ‘independent’ third sector actors call upon citizens ‘to mobilise and equip [them]selves with the dispositions and skills necessary to be “active citizens” and engage in “self-responsibilisation”’, a process that links active citizenship with ‘part of a neo-liberal reconfiguration of the political subject/citizen’ (Barnett 2002, 310). A large part of this research draws on Nikolas Rose’s influential work on Michel Foucault’s concept of governmentality. Rose identifies ‘government through community’ (1996, 332) as characteristic of ‘advanced liberal’ (neoliberal) governance that facilitates ‘new modes of neighbourhood participation, local empowerment and engagement of residents in decisions over their own lives’ that will, it is hoped, ‘reactivate self-motivation, self-responsibility and self-reliance’ (ibid., 335). Active citizenship from this perspective becomes a strategy of

subject-making, ‘enabling the state to govern more effectively’ (Marinetto 2003, 117) and render a society “governable” (Foucault 2006). In some cases this works subtly in the ways that institutions impress on the public the individualising ‘pursuit of personal fulfilment and the incessant calculations which are to enable this to be achieved’ (Rose and Miller 1992, 201), thereby engineering autonomous subjects less reliant on state provision. Less subtle is the frank description offered by Douglas Kellner: ‘active citizens are those who contribute to the success of the free market economy by picking up the pieces that the free market drops: helping charities, clearing litter, helping inner city reconstruction’ (cited in Kinderman 2011, 23).

What this work teaches us is to remain vigilant when government begins to hail active citizenship; it is always more than interested in fomenting a benign version of community spirit and often marks an attempt to mobilise a population in an ‘alliance’ between personal ambition and the institutional expressions of the ideology of the state (Rose 1990, 10). The work here elucidates the relationships between neoliberal social agendas – ‘new localism’, ‘neo-communitarism’, ‘Third Way’ – and their working through civil society and citizenship. This work therefore provides perspectives on the Coalition’s ICS programme and, more broadly, the Big Society agenda which has been widely criticised as ‘a smokescreen for public service cuts’ (Mycock and Tonge 2011, 56; Smith 2010). In this light the British Government’s focus on citizenship seems to suggest that the project of developing ‘life long active citizens’ through volunteering keeps intact the ‘governance through community’ so prevalent in the preceding Conservative and New Labour administrations (Bevir and Rhodes 2012).

The work on active citizenship in the UK adds to the discussion by showing that government and institutions are interested in fostering specific modes of citizenship. So while global citizenship promises much insofar as it might potentially traverse the barriers that sustain global inequality, there is a definite sense that it might also be fostered in the image of its (neoliberal) creator. Bringing these literatures into the discussion, then, we begin to see that, whether through an interested domestic government or through the uneven diffusion of power across the planet, there is a distinct possibility that global citizenship is produced through and, as importantly, *for* neoliberal trajectories of governance. This brings us to an important point in building an understanding of global citizenship: ambiguity. Global citizenship attracts a disparate range of suitors, as Caren Kaplan has noted: ‘a world without boundaries [...] appeals to conservative, liberal and progressive alike – the multinational corporation and the libertarian anarchist might choose

to phrase their ideal world in just such terms' (1995, 45). Such ambiguity is an important theme to take to international volunteering and the case study of ICS where it might be that, to use Andreotti's useful distinction, "critical" versions of global citizenship are co-opted by "soft" iterations.

### 1.1.1 Global citizenship and international volunteering

In recent years the number of people going abroad to volunteer has increased dramatically (Davis-Smith et al. 2005). Volunteers are now able to choose destination country, type of project, length of stay, learning outcomes, post-placement travel; all provided by an array of both for- and non-profit organisations. Reflecting this range, various overlapping terms - 'volunteer tourism' (Simpson 2004; Sin 2009; Conran 2011), 'voluntourism' (Rehnborg and Moore 2010), 'gap year volunteering' (Lyons et al. 2012), 'international voluntary service' (Lewis 2005; Sherraden et al. 2006) – have each gained currency in academic discourse on international volunteering. The differences between terms are nuanced and often reflect disciplinary and institutional conventions rather than marking different practices on the ground. Perhaps the most widely used – and therefore broad – definition in academic writing comes from Michael Sherraden: 'an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant' (2001, 5).

Inevitably this definition, in its breadth, requires qualification. For instance, especially with the explosion of the for-profit sector (Jones 2004), the idea of 'contribution' is often only notional as volunteers are flown in and out on short-term placements whose benefit to a local community is at best uncertain. The definition also does not recognise that many volunteers actually pay to go on placement as is the case for a number of the more reputable NGOs and charities that run volunteer programmes. Also important is to stress that volunteering normatively takes place outside the purview of the market and the state (Cohen and Arato 1992; Boulet 2008). This is not to exclude the involvement of government and/or business but more to stress that their presence in volunteering does not ordinarily draw civil society into matters of politics and/or economics. The most important aspect of international volunteering to add to the definition, however, is some recognition of the direction of movement made by volunteers across the planet. Despite some evidence of changing trends, the vast majority still move from the rich North to the poor South

(Keese 2011).<sup>1</sup> This makes the nature of the work usually centred on either environmental or social development, giving a whole new shade to the idea of making a ‘contribution to the world community’.

Given these important correctives it is important to emphasise that international volunteering, as it is understood here and in the majority of academic research, refers to a civil society activity that is designed to contribute to development in the Global South<sup>2</sup> and is not significantly influenced by the interests of either government or business. Because of this, international volunteering has become an important ‘public face of development’ that can play a significant role in the ways that subjects practice global citizenship through civil society (Smith and Yanacopulos 2004). Exactly how this unfolds, research indicates, depends on how volunteering is set up by stakeholders and practiced by volunteers on placement.

Research that is guided by an interest in a more critical mode of global citizenship focuses on the ways that volunteers develop and act on responsibilities to the people they meet in host communities. Around this theme a small but compelling body of literature has documented the ways that international volunteering can be an effective facilitator of meaningful engagement with the injustices of uneven patterns of development. This work tracks ‘genuine’ connections through the ‘intense rather than superficial social interactions’ that unfold in the spaces of volunteering (McIntosh and Zahra 2007, 554; Brown and Morrison 2003) to argue that connections between volunteers and hosts ‘humanise’ development inequalities (Lewis 2005). These connections, it is suggested, can ‘encourage critical thinking about development’ (Diprose 2012, 189) and ‘the empowerment of participants as global citizens and agents of change’ (Crabtree 1998, 187). In fact Robbin Crabtree has argued that this is the principal contribution of volunteering:

projects are not about providing material support to our partners in developing countries and communities - after all, how much can we really do in the face of such extreme poverty and structural inequality? ISL [International Service Learning] is about producing global awareness among all participants, providing opportunities to develop

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the thesis I make reference to the ‘North’ and ‘South’ (and occasionally the ‘Global South’). Though I recognise that any distinction is flawed (Tinker 2008), I follow Adil Najam’s defence of the term ‘South’ citing – in contrast to ‘Developing World’ and ‘Third World’ – its positive connotation of a ‘collective identity in international politics’ (2005, 113). This is consistent with the majority of recent work in development studies.

<sup>2</sup> Of course this is a specific understanding of international volunteering and can be criticised on three main counts: i) it focuses on the third sector and so might not include many of the large programmes run by for-profit organisations; ii) it concentrates on North-South movement, with which most work in western academia is concerned, and therefore fails to consider the small(er) but growing numbers of South-South and South-North movements of volunteers (Plewes and Stuart 2007) and iii) it rests on a vague notion of ‘contribution’ to a community that is difficult to measure – though it does serve to exclude the more unscrupulous ‘cash cow’ projects that are available (Tourism Concern 2008).

mutual understanding, and creating shared aspirations for social justice and the skills to produce it. (2008, 29-30)

There is evidence to support the claim that this process of learning and understanding takes place in volunteering. For instance Nancy McGehee and Carla Santos characterise volunteering in their study as a ‘consciousness-raising experience’ that aroused in volunteers ‘a heightened awareness of social inequalities and injustices, the global nature of social issues [and] the recognition of the complexities of social issues’ (2005, 771). Similarly Lori Hanson’s study of volunteers in Nicaragua identifies the importance of awareness where the ‘inward dimensions’ of volunteering involve

the ongoing search for global and local awareness and knowledge, and personal reflections on citizen rights and obligations. Outward expressions involved actual and planned community involvements, whether local or global. Taken together, participants’ responses clearly indicate that the course is contributing to global citizenship. (2010, 80)

The distinction here between ‘inward’ and ‘outward’ aspects to global citizenship recalls the emphasis on ‘action’ in the more critical understandings of global citizenship discussed above (1.1). For Hanson, the volunteers demonstrate global citizenship on the terms set out by Swee-Hin Toh that involves an ‘awareness of and commitment to societal justice for marginalised groups, grassroots empowerment, nonviolent and authentic democracy, environmental care, and North–South relations based on principles of equity, respect and sharing’ (1996, 185).

A revisited theme throughout these studies is Paolo Freire’s pedagogical theory as a process of ‘action-reflection-transformative action’ and the potential of international volunteering to produce or encourage global citizens who ‘deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world’ (1970, 15). Drawing on Freire, Hanson points out in her study that ‘education is never neutral. It can either have an instrumental or an emancipatory purpose; by implication, the teacher either engages students in the reproduction of the status quo or encourages the questioning, challenging, and ultimately, transformation of it’ (2010, 76). Again the distinction between “soft” and “critical” global citizenship comes to the fore here where challenges to the ‘status quo’, as documented in these studies, constitute a version of global citizenship consonant with those that contend and resist expressions of power.

The empirical evidence presented in these research papers is persuasive and it seems that well designed programmes shape volunteering in a way conducive to the emergence of meaningful connections between volunteers and hosts. Global citizenship from this

perspective takes shape through connections with people that are centred on principles of justice, equality and solidarity and, it seems, are largely free – and even critical of – dominating forms of power. Read this way, these literatures flesh out the claims made by advocates of international volunteering’s potential to instil positive ‘value change and changed consciousness’ (Wearing 2003, x) and a ‘sense of collective global responsibility’ in volunteers (Desforges et al. 2005, 441). It follows that, from this perspective international volunteering can provide a platform for global citizenship that is based on more equitable relations between constituents of the North and South out of which a better future might be forged.

At the other end of the debate on global citizenship exists a large amount of research that focuses on the neoliberalisation of volunteering and its subsequent (in)ability to effect critical reflection and/or change in volunteers. This research explores the ways that volunteering is produced by and even reproductive of neoliberal flows of power. For instance, in their study on volunteering, Kevin Lyons et al. refer to the ‘myth’ of global citizenship and ‘the hegemony of a neoliberal ethos that has co-opted it that is inimical to broadening cross-cultural understanding and global citizenry’ (2012, 363). One of the prominent ways that researchers have sought to explore this notion is through the idea that within volunteering there persist ‘simplistic binaries’ that reflect such hegemony. For instance, Kate Simpson has highlighted how the marketing of volunteering as “making a difference”, ‘doing something worthwhile’ or ‘contributing to the future of others’ (2004, 684) neglects a critical pedagogy of social justice, resulting in volunteers

emphasising difference and establishing a dichotomy of ‘them and us’ [in this way] [p]overty is allowed to become a definer of difference, rather than an experience shared by people marginalised by resource distribution. Poverty becomes an issue for ‘out there’, which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with. (ibid., 688)

This idea that volunteering can reinforce and even exacerbate inequality is replicated through research where depoliticised, “soft” notions of “giving” and “help” ascribe ‘specific relations of power’ to form dichotomies ‘between those perceived as “volunteers” and “voluntoured”, between “givers” and “receivers”’ (Palacios 2010, 867). This is evidenced by Eliza Raymond and Michael Hall who find that when volunteers ‘inappropriately take on roles of ‘expert’ or ‘teacher’ regardless of their experience or qualifications, this can be seen to represent the neo-colonial construction of the westerner as racially and culturally superior’ (2008, 531).

The thread running through these studies on volunteering is that an absence of a critical pedagogy of development can lead to volunteers taking on understandings of poverty that ultimately reinforce rather than decrease inequalities between the rich and poor parts of the world. This notion is clearly detrimental to the possibility that international volunteering can lead to global citizenship informed by critical perspectives on development and poverty. Helene Perold et al. argue that ‘we will only begin to harness the potential that international service offers to organisational and community development when the structural issues in the international service geopolitical landscape are explicitly addressed’ (2013, 194), thus suggesting that volunteer programmes should incorporate a reflexivity that asks volunteers to see their own positions within constellations of power. Otherwise, volunteering programmes that do not encourage such critical reflection on development, Perold and colleagues go on to argue, may ‘function paternalistically’ (ibid., 193) and, as Carlos Palacios has pointed out, could therefore ‘reproduce the same global patterns of inequality [...] reinforcing the dominant position of the North’ (2010, 864). Where this is the case, such as in the studies cited here, international volunteering takes place within a broader scheme of neocolonial presences in the South (Brown and Hall 2008) and is therefore unlikely to promote global citizenship in any critical sense. Such concerns heighten the sense that power is always already embroiled in volunteering for development and it is, at least in part, programme design that either reinforces or checks its hold over volunteers’ consequent experiences and perceptions.

A recent focus of work on international volunteering has been on the emotional aspects of the connections made between volunteers and hosts. Simultaneously informed, it seems, by feminist approaches to embodied experience and post-structural perspectives on power’s emotional literacy, this area of research speaks to global citizenship (and doing research on global citizenship) in important ways. The recurrent claim made in these studies is that embodied experience unfolds within a field already delineated by uneven power relations. For instance Harng Luh Sin finds that even where emotional ‘caring relationships’ outside of “formal” volunteer-host roles are established, they do so in a paternalistic fashion that ‘replicat[es] existing power hierarchies that continue to undermine hosts’ (2010, 988). Similarly, Émilie Crossley adopts a psychoanalytical approach to present a case where volunteers use defence mechanisms to deal with unsettling embodied responses to poverty. The ‘guilt or unconscious anxiety’ stimulated by encounters with poverty, according to Crossley, is worked through a ‘poor but happy’ rationalisation that ‘helps to legitimise and perpetuate apathy and global disparities in wealth’ meaning that, she goes on



to argue, ‘encounters with the Other and with poverty are stripped of their radical, transformational potential’ (2012b, 245; also: 2012a). This “hollowing out” aspect of volunteers’ embodied experience is a theme taken up also by Mary Mostafanezhad who claims that emotional connections between volunteers and hosts - and the empathy, sympathy and solidarity they entail – are never more than ‘seemingly sincere encounters’ that result in ‘the depoliticisation of poverty, where questions of why or how people became “poor” are overshadowed by the aesthetic pleasure of the experience’ (2013b, 162). This apparently ‘strategic’ move is a ‘neoliberal sleight of hand’, that, Mostafanezhad argues elsewhere (under her previous name), means ‘volunteer tourism participants inadvertently contribute to the continued expansion of the cultural logic and economic policies of neoliberal global capitalism’ (Conran 2011, 1467).

These are grand charges to make against the practices of international volunteering. Putting these literatures together, a narrative builds of volunteers who, even in their intimate moments of connection with poor hosts, are always already marked by the privilege afforded to them by their favourable position in a neoliberal ordering of the volunteer encounter. An important study in this area, and especially relevant to ICS, is that of Katarina Diprose who examined Platform2, a New Labour and short-lived predecessor to the ICS programme that also positioned volunteers as global citizens. Diprose argues, in the same vein as Sin, Crossley and Mostafanezhad, that ‘an empathetic response to others is not the same as a radically realigned sense of global community’ and that the programme’s design – put together by DfID – worked to foreclose critical engagement: ‘Platform2 diminished this possibility by framing global citizenship within a national policy context, narrowing expectations for post-project activity to personal development and awareness-raising work in the UK’ (2012, 190). In Freire’s terms this practice of global citizenship, fostered in this case by the Department for International Development, reflected the values of the status quo, becoming internalised in volunteers as global citizenship predicated on soft notions of helping and assistance and devoid of critical engagement with the causes of inequality (Shor and Freire 1986).

Such research on emotions, affects and volunteering provide *prima facie* yet another perspective on the ways that neoliberal power may shape the contours of volunteer experience and global citizenship. Affective and emotional responses to other bodies are, by these readings, either subordinate to an emotionally literate form of power, or actors within a power-saturated field to which there exists no outside. This provides potentially valuable insight into the workings of neoliberalism as an affective form, but it should also,

perhaps more than other perspectives on volunteering reviewed here, give cause to flag up the analytical frame researchers take to the field and the presentation of research findings. There are questions to be asked, for example, to do with the researchers' conceptualisation of aspects of embodied experience such as affect, which is, especially in the field of geography, related to a non-representational view of an 'autonomous' body (Massumi 1995; Thrift 2007). Where these studies so firmly couch affective and/or emotional experience in the "cultural logic of neoliberal capitalism", therefore, the interpretation forecloses any possibility that embodied connections *may* emerge from elsewhere; thereby setting (neoliberal) limits on global citizenship and in turn predetermining its relationship with power. If affective bonds are always already subject to neoliberal "sleights of hand" then the ties to people that are so important to global citizenship can only ever be on the depoliticised – "soft" – terms set by power. Nowhere in research on volunteering is such a clear presence of researcher interpretation more felt: there is a narrow understanding of the body's dynamism coupled with, at times, a quite heavy-handed imposition of a (loosely defined) "neoliberal logic". The corollary is a research performance of international volunteering subordinate to power and an ethically troublesome practice of taking intimate ethnographic data from volunteers and presenting it in such a way that denies them – and their potentially autonomous bodies – agency. These are pressing issues that draw into focus the doing of research alongside the objects of study, volunteering and global citizenship.

#### 1.1.2 Lessons from literature on volunteering and global citizenship: ambiguities and approaches to research

In surveying these literatures a clear picture of the ways that power can shape the contours of volunteering begins to emerge. The lack of emphasis on critical thinking in the way that volunteer programmes frame the encounter between volunteer and host often emphasises, and may even exacerbate, already asymmetric relations. From this perspective, volunteers are privileged (Lorimer 2010; McBride and Lough 2010), disengaged (Sin 2009; Butcher and Smith 2010) figures accumulating cultural capital in the "Third World" (Desforges 2000; Tomazos 2010). At the sharp end of these critiques volunteers are imagined as neocolonial actors in the South (Raymond and Hall 2008; Palacios 2010) whose presence risks perpetuating global inequalities: 'at its worst, international volunteering can be imperialist, paternalistic charity, volunteer tourism, or a self-serving quest for career and personal development on the part of well-off Westerners' (Devereux 2008, 358). The subsequent

understandings of global citizenship cannot but be uneven in their makeup, failing as they do to incorporate critical reflections on the very inequalities that make volunteers *volunteers* and hosts *hosts*.

This said, it should not be forgotten that the potential of international volunteering to facilitate more egalitarian and even emancipatory versions of global citizenship is acknowledged throughout the literatures reviewed here. Perhaps a way to understand this seeming difference between potential and practice is by recognising the ambiguity to global citizenship, discussed above (1.1.1), and a parallel ambiguity within volunteering itself. Matt Baillie Smith and Nina Laurie note: international volunteering seems to both exemplify neoliberal ideas of individual autonomy, improvement and responsibility and at the same time allies itself to notions of collective global citizenship, solidarity, development and activism. (2011, 545). This divide in the understandings and practices of volunteering opens it up to both the soft and critical modes of global citizenship outlined above where the taking place of volunteering is found to have varying relationships to power. This is evident in researchers documenting the ways that volunteering can provide ‘a unique opportunity for exposure to social inequities’ (McGehee and Santos 2005, 764) while also presenting robust critiques of ‘spurious’ or ‘colonial’ volunteer programmes in the South (VSO 2007). On the one hand both global citizenship and international volunteering represent an almost utopian push for solidarity and care for people of distant communities, while on the other they are loaded terms, pregnant with neocolonial projections of power onto the South.

Within all of this the role that researchers and their analytical frames play in the interpretation of data should not go unnoted. The writing of the world of volunteering and its global citizens is a process that involves significant methodological, ethical and epistemological choices by the researcher. This is brought into relief especially in literatures on embodied experience where up to now the most part of research draws bodily data back into dominant research foci (centred on power, neoliberalism, capitalism). What might be lost in this “symbolic ordering” of ultimately unknowable affects and emotions is the richness of the field and its constitutive social relations, suggesting that different approaches might evoke different worlds – and wholly different research performances. Add to this too the not insignificant ethical concern of implicitly imagining volunteers as little more than conduits of neoliberal power and a strong case forms for making the doing of research a central part of the research process itself. This is not, however, to devalue some of the research reviewed; the very potential that even the empathy and solidarity on which ethical/critical modes of global citizenship depend are circumscribed by the “logics”

or “rationalities” of neoliberalism is something research must examine. But simultaneously researchers might too consider the way that such concepts are used and how readily that can be applied to social life, especially when we get to its intimacies such as emotion and affect. Power, therefore, is something outside to be documented but it might also be something inside the undertaking and presenting of research and that too, as far as is possible, should be taken into account.

At hand then is an ambiguous figure of the global citizen engaged in volunteering, a practice that appeals across the political spectrum, taking place under the political economy of neoliberalism whose capacity to embrace apparently contradictory political positions make it quite capable of playing to these ambiguities and broad appeals (Bondi 2005; Harvey 2005; 1.3). Fold into this, too, the *doing* of research and the project of critically examining global citizenship is complicated somewhat. There is little doubt that once an actor such as the British Government becomes involved in volunteering and global citizenship, the nature of that involvement should be analysed in a way that is informed by rich understandings of power, governance, neoliberalism and so forth. Research into ICS should therefore attend to the ways that global citizenship is imagined and practiced by the British Government and focus closely on how this might be influenced by the apparent neoliberal interestedness in soft iterations of global citizenship. As important, however, is to keep in focus the frame itself, to consider how the field is interpreted and what is imposed on eventual data. Unpacking these ambiguities and frameworks may help to explicate the relationship volunteers have to both neoliberal governance and the various modes of global citizenship identified in this part of the discussion.

## 1.2 Global civil society

Research on global civil society forms a related body of literature to be brought into the discussion. International volunteer programmes generally involve more than one organisation where volunteers typically arrange their trip through an organisation in the North that has ‘in-country’ partnerships in the South. It is not unusual for large NGOs or development charities to place volunteers via a network of three or four civil society organisations in the South; this is especially true of rural projects where local practicalities (logistics, language, customs, etc) are more difficult to negotiate. These transnational networks form part of global civil society, the imagined network of non-profit and non-governmental organisations that stretches across the globe on different scales from transnational bodies such as UNICEF to smaller “grassroots” or activist collectives in the

South. Volunteers move through the different scales in this network as they travel from North to South.

Literature on global civil society shares similarities with that on global citizenship; on the one hand global civil society is perceived as an expression of ethical commitment to ameliorate the conditions of poverty while on the other it is seen as an aspect of social life that has been infiltrated by neoliberal expressions of power. In this part of the chapter I briefly discuss the idea of civil society before focussing more closely on these understandings of global civil society and how they relate to international volunteering.

The idea that international volunteering sits in a division between civil, political and economic spheres is rooted in historical understandings of the state and civil life. Since the European Enlightenment, many prominent thinkers have offered versions of how and where dividing lines are put in place. At base, in the civil sphere it is imagined that

people once they are out of the household enter into transactions with other members in civil society, these interactions will not be marked by either conflict, mediation, or compromise that is the stuff of politics. Nor will they be characterised by competition over scarce resources, which is the stuff of economics. (Chandhoke 2001, 6)

This ideal evokes Locke, Kant and others who set ethics, the “core” philosophy of civil society, against the competition and conflict of economic and political life (Seligman 1992). In this way, civil society’s ‘transactions’ and ‘interactions’ constitute a ‘synthesis of private and public “good” and of individual and social desiderata’ and thus the idea of civil society ‘embodies for many an ethical ideal of the social order, one that, if not overcomes, at least harmonises the conflicting demands of individual interest and social good’ (Seligman 1995, x). From this perspective, interference from the state or economy would compromise, or ‘contaminate’ the ethical work of civil society (Cohen and Arato 1992) and affect its ability to build and act on consensus. ‘Voluntary associations’ are the ‘institutional core’ of this vision of civil society (Habermas 1987; Flyvbjerg 1998).

As its name suggests, global civil society “scales up” this understanding and refers to ‘that dimension of transnational collective life in which citizens organise themselves – outside their identity with a particular state or their role as a producer or consumer – to advance shared agendas and coordinate political activities throughout the world’ (Wapner 2002, 204). There is also an important ethical role, like its domestic iteration, to the work of global civil society:

[g]lobal civil society manifests a previously unknown human capacity to self-organise on a planetary-scale with an unprecedented inclusiveness, respect for diversity, shared

leadership, individual initiative, and a deep sense of responsibility for the whole. (Korten et al. 2002, 26)

For its advocates, this is the ideal: an organisation of non-state entities involved in a project to ‘reconstruct, re-imagine or re-map world politics’ (Lipschultz 1992, 391). Global civil society, in this capacity, has brought together collective action on the inequalities and injustices that propel people trafficking, the ivory trade and Human Rights violations (Etzioni 2004). Viewed from this perspective global civil society serves as a democratising presence that stabilises and adds to democratic life. It neutralises power, both of individuals and states, and introduces pluralism into the discourse of state and inter-state governance. In this way we can see global civil society as a politicising presence on the world stage, bringing ‘issues to the attention of a transnational public and international policymakers, thereby inducing political deliberation and contention’ (Jaeger 2007, 258).

A more radical view of global civil society draws on the work of Antonio Gramsci. In this version collectives work not only to check but to challenge, correct and, if necessary, overcome ‘institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent’ (Chomsky and Foucault 1974, 171). At this point global civil society is imagined as a ‘global ‘associational revolution’ that rises out of a

crisis of confidence in the capability of the state. Broad historical changes have thus opened the way for alternative institutions that can respond more effectively to human needs. With their small-scale, flexibility and capacity to engage grassroots energies, private nonprofit organisations have been ideally suited to fill the resulting gap. The consequence is a sweeping process of change that closely resembles the “third wave” of democratic political revolutions. (Salamon 1994, 110)

This rendition of global civil society draws on ‘the spirit of ‘68’ and concerns itself with ‘fringe’ issues ‘like peace, women, human rights, the environment, and new forms of protest’ (Kaldor 2003, 585). Organisations involved in these movements position themselves well ‘outside the “official” political system of international relations’ as an important way of ‘challenging the state-system and its institutions (as well as markets) “from below”’ (Jaeger 2007, 258). Examples of this tend to come from the smaller-scale organisations situated at the “grassroots” of activism and are regularly styled as “globalisation from below”.<sup>3</sup> This was captured in a commentary on the G8 protests in Seattle where Nicanor Perlas declared (perhaps optimistically) ‘it was global civil society as the third force that actually determined the outcome of the WTO talks in Seattle. We now

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<sup>3</sup> The World Social Forum, as a large and global movement, is an important exception to this claim.

live in a tripolar world of large businesses, powerful governments and global civil society' (2000, 1). In this sense elements of global civil society function as a politicised 'global reformist project' (Munck 2006) that works to counter neoliberal globalisation (Taylor 2002; Taylor 2004).

The relevance of these literatures to volunteering and global citizenship comes once again back to relations with neoliberal/capitalist expressions of power. Social exchanges – volunteering included – within this type of global civil society “from below”, as these literatures document, are closely associated with critical positions on globalisation, where globalisation is understood as a chiefly economic and markedly hegemonic process. These global citizens, it could be argued, sit at the forefront of public consciousness owed to the media coverage of global citizen-activists in movements such as Occupy and UK Uncut, movements that seek to challenge aspects of neoliberalisation. It is difficult to resist, even at this early stage, juxtaposing this vision with the British Government's desire use ICS 'to build global civil society' and consider the possibility that the idea of global civil society might, like global citizenship and volunteering, contain ambiguities that attract a broad range of seemingly disparate advocates.

A second body of literature on global civil society may go some way to providing an explanation. Focusing on the elements of global civil society that enter into either formal or informal relationships with governments and/or TNCs (transnational corporations), researchers have considered the ways that significant parts of global civil society are not distanced from but instead complicit in the processes of neoliberal globalisation. Work in this area focuses on the multi-scalar connections made across the globe and the opportunities they present for uneven relations through funding, legislation and political influence, elements that come together to make global civil society, Ronnie Lipschultz argues, a 'central and vital element in an expanding global neoliberal regime' (2005, 748). Two important critiques focussed on this point come out of the work of Mary Kaldor and Neera Chandhoke. Kaldor argues that once social movements enter global civil society they are drawn into partnerships shaped by sources of funding and bound by transnational treaties that work to legitimise but also depoliticise social movements. Kaldor writes:

I regard NGOs as tamed social movements. Social movements always rise and fall. And as they fall, they are either 'tamed' - institutionalised and professionalised - or they become marginal and disappear or turn to violence. Becoming 'tamed' means that you become the respectable opposition - the partner in negotiations. (2003, 589)

Kaldor terms this the ‘neoliberal version’ of global civil society where opposition to market reform is stifled through the co-opting of social movements into the institutions complicit in the expansion of neoliberal globalisation. As Ronaldo Munck puts it: ‘when the World Bank becomes a fervent supporter of “civil society” (and “social capital” as well), we can safely assume it is not because of its radical anticapitalist potential’ (2002, 355). Chandhoke’s criticism centres on the point where global civil society imposes ‘a politico-legal framework that institutionalises the normative pre-requisites of rights, freedom and the rule of law’ that ‘enables programmes but simultaneously disables undesirable programmes’ (2002, 150). The result is a version of global civil society that, similarly to that of Kaldor, is dismissive of NGOs as expressions of social movements for justice. Chandhoke writes:

[w]itness the tragedy that has befallen the proponents of the concept: people struggling against authoritarian regimes had demanded civil society; what they got instead was NGOs! In the process of being presented as an alternative to the formal sphere of politics, the state driven by the logic of power, and also the market driven by the logic of profit, the concept has been abstracted from all debates and contestations over its meaning, stripped of its ambiguities, its dark areas, and its oppressions, and presented to us as a sphere of solidarity, self-help, and goodwill. (2007, 608)

In this insipid vision of global civil society Chandhoke stresses the notion that power is able to co-opt the normative “good” (‘solidarity, self-help and goodwill’) on which the idea of civil society is built. From this vantage point global civil society seems a long way from the autonomous network of organisations unconstrained by political and economic interest; it is always already embroiled in matters of the state and market (Huq 2005).

Empirical support for this version of global civil society is found in research that maps the ways that the geographies of global civil society are closely linked to the uneven distribution of geopolitical power (Smith and Wiest 2005). Such mapping claims that high concentrations of NGO staff in, for example, North-Western Europe (Anheier et al. 2001) evidence a correlation between the ‘focal points’ of neoliberal globalisation and the dissemination of ‘universal values’ through ‘a movement seeking to universalise the ultimately parochial model of European Union integration’ (Anderson and Rieff 2005, 26). Such ‘northern bias’, Hagai Katz argues, has a damaging effect on global civil society’s normative concerns for justice: ‘the network’s structure is not equitable; it reproduces the same power disparities that characterise the capitalist world-system’ (2006, 345). Hardt and Negri take this further to argue that global civil society’s opening of an unfettered world surface makes it complicit in the hegemony of capitalist Empire: ‘the establishment of a



global society of control that smoothes over the striae of national boundaries goes hand in hand with the realisation of the world market and the real subsumption of global society under capital' (2000, 332).

These different perspectives on global civil society show it to be an 'ambiguous and apparently incoherent concept' (Bartelson 2006, 372 see also: Anheier et al. 2001) - a 'catchall term' (Taylor 2002) that covers a broad range of organisations and political positions. In fact literature on global civil society refers to vastly different organisations, from those bound by 'the statist global framework of law and rights' (Baker 2002, 942; also: Bartelson 2006) to the notably anti-statist 'revolutionary streak' of Zapatismo (Corry 2006, 317). In terms of developing an approach to research this means that we must consider exactly where actors in global civil society lie on this implied spectrum. Evidently most volunteers would not identify closely with Zapatistas but nor would they automatically be advocates of a 'neoliberal version' of the global civil society made up of co-opted social movements subordinated to powerful international corporations and governance. It follows that inquiry must consider where the organisations researched fit into global civil society and if and how they come into contact with the neoliberalising elements to which commentators such as Mary Kaldor and Neera Chandhoke call attention.

To this end there is some useful work concentrated on the diffusion of neoliberal power through NGOs and other elements of global civil society that organise international volunteering. Connected processes reappear throughout this work: "professionalisation" (Dolhinow 2005; Nightingale 2005; Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2011), "NGOisation" (Jenkins 2009) and westernisation (Simpson 2004) are each terms used to conceptualise the presences of neoliberalism at different scales of global civil society. Within this a recurrent theme that is particularly applicable to volunteering and global citizenship is the way that neoliberal rationalities (as any of the "-isations" mentioned here) may work to co-opt and nullify critical perspectives on development in the South (Kothari 2005). For instance, Rebecca Dolhinow gives an account of how 'growing numbers of NGOs find that their primary sources of income come from donors and state agencies that share a propensity for neoliberal forms of governance' (2005, 558). This makes them subject to 'the "technical" concerns of governmentality' – the professionalising processes of accounting, auditing and accountability – that produce and normalise rationalities associated with neoliberal governance. Dolhinow concludes:

[i]ncreasing trends toward professionalising NGOs mean organisations that used to operate in opposition to the state, maintaining their distance in part through their less

professional and more grassroots approaches, are now being encompassed in greater and greater numbers by the neoliberal state. (2005, 560)

There is a great deal of work in this area that adds weight to the argument that funding and accountability work to impress neoliberal rationalities on global civil society organisations. Katy Jenkins tracks the ways that ‘the demands of new managerial neoliberalism’ reconfigures voluntary sector organisations (2005); Janet Townsend et al. provide an account of how smaller actors have to dedicate valuable resources to learning the ‘meta-languages’ of ‘donor fashions and new managerialism’ (2002) and Matt Baillie Smith and Katy Jenkins note how ‘activists are increasingly absent from the practices of global civic spaces’ because of a ‘co-option of previously radical or alternative concepts and ideologies’ (2011, 160, 170).

These studies offer a robust critique of the ways the ‘conscription of critical discourses into the mainstream’ in and through elements of global civil society have resulted in an ‘ordering of dissent’ (Kothari and Minogue 2002; see also: Kothari 2005b). This has come about as a result of state and/or corporate involvement in NGOs and other organisations that are involved in volunteering. The fallout from this is that research must be made sensitive to the possibility that international volunteering and the ICS programme in particular is a site where such neoliberal rationalities are diffused through the processes highlighted in these literatures. To push it to an extreme: the case at hand, ICS, emerges as policy from a neoliberal government (Smith 2010; Mycock and Tonge 2011) of a ‘neoliberal heartland’ (Peck and Tickell 2002) entering the apparently neoliberalised arena of international volunteering; there is every chance that neoliberalising rationalities function in the ways highlighted by these existing literatures. Specific enquiry, therefore, might build on the Foucauldian theorisation of dispersed power through governmentalities and the ways that these are embedded in organisations within global civil society so that they are brought into an alliance with neoliberal expressions of power. Exactly what is meant by ‘neoliberal expression of power’ for the purposes of this study is the subject of the remaining section of this introductory chapter.

### **1.3 Understandings of neoliberalism**

To this point the discussion has made reference to neoliberalism without fully considering how it will be used in this thesis. Clearly, from the breadth of concerns covered so far, neoliberalism is used as an analytical frame in quite a number of different ways. In this final section of the chapter I review different conceptualisations of neoliberalism to set out its

use in this research project. The section begins with an explication of neoliberalism as an object of study before moving on to consider it as a tool of study in academic research.

Predominant especially in academic research on active citizenship is a focus on the “rolling back” of the state and the ways that public provision and aspects of social life come to be ‘managed’ through neoliberal practices of governance. This, whether implicit or explicit, implies the existence of a ‘neoliberal template’ (Harvey 2005, 139-141) or “philosophy” (Treanor 2005) that, explains Aiwa Ong, imagines neoliberalism ‘as an entity, a unified state apparatus totally dedicated to the interests of unregulated markets [in which] [t]here is a suggestion of a standard neoliberal state’ (2007, 4). Such a ‘template’, explain Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, refers to “roll back” and “roll out” forms of neoliberalism where the state in the first place retreats before setting in place ‘institutional “hardware”’ that aims to reconcile ‘technocratic economic management and invasive social policies’ (2002, 389; Tickell and Peck 2003). Where commentary is on active citizens working in the spaces of withdrawn provision there is strong sense that the “neoliberal state”, imagined as an adherent to a cohesive “neoliberal agenda” (Larner 2000), is the most prominent actor in the dissemination of discursive formations of citizenship. Neoliberalism is here chiefly a structural form – a mode of governing - that subordinates policy agenda and debate to the logic of the free market.

In contrast, once we get to research on global civil society and rationalities of governance, research tends to frame neoliberalism as an almost ethereal presence that seeps through different cultural and social forms without easily identified sources. This understanding owes much to Foucault and his quite recently translated *Collège de France* lectures on “governmentality” (2006). In the lectures Foucault describes the conditions through which disciplinary power is diffused via a set of ‘arrangements’ that become normalised in political and societal formations:

with government it is a question not of imposing law on men, but of disposing things; that is to say, of employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics – to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved. (2006, 137)

These processes of arrangement, according to Foucault, foster ‘manageable citizens’ whose self-regulation works to render a society “governable” (2006; Jones et al. 2007). This has become an important theoretical foundation of influential work such as that by Nikolas Rose (1996; 1997; 2006; Miller and Rose 1990) and Mitchell Dean (1995; 2009) whose readings of Foucault inform a great amount of work on neoliberalism in the social sciences.

Neoliberalism is by these understandings a post-structural and de-centred mode of governance where power is diffused in and through a population.

Further related understandings are apparent in the discussion on the ways that neoliberalism co-opts and incorporates radical, and even dissenting, voices that come through the more critical versions of global citizenship and global civil society. This perspective on neoliberalism evidences its “promiscuity”, its capacity to be “heteroglossic” and to adapt to all manner of diverse social and cultural forms (Clarke 2008). From “getting comfortable” with difference (Morris 2012) to promoting (certain) freedoms, neoliberalism is understood to have a ‘capacity to co-exist with apparently contradictory political ideas’ (Bondi 2005, 499). This capacity has enabled it to become, as Liz Bondi has put it, a “flexible beast” that is ‘capable of being marshalled in relation to both authoritarian and social democratic ideas’ (ibid.). David Harvey refers to this in his book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*:

any political movement that holds individual freedoms to be sacrosanct is vulnerable to incorporation into the neoliberal fold [...] neoliberal rhetoric, with its foundational emphasis upon individual freedoms, has the power to split off libertarianism, identity politics, multiculturalism, and eventually narcissistic consumerism from the social forces ranged in pursuit of social justice through the conquest of state power. (2005, 41)

This apparent ability to tune into disparate and often incongruous aspects of social life and civil society has significant – and somewhat disconcerting – implications:

capitalism has managed to accommodate resistant political movements organised around identity, smoothing over historic structural disadvantages by co-opting the rhetoric of equality. The energies of these movements have been captured by the ‘neoliberalisation of culture’ and have thus lost their oppositional character. Rather than combat and subdue movements for recognition by minority groups, late capitalism deploys ‘culture’ to co-opt and commodify resistance, in order to rob it of its revolutionary potential. (Morris 2012, 107)

This conviction further thickens the understanding of neoliberalism, and suggests that research should take into account its versatility as a source of versatile rhetoric. Allowing a cursory assessment, for example, it might be, even at this early stage, that neoliberalism as a “flexible beast” is an understanding that might provide valuable insight on the ICS programme making a simultaneous appeal to both critical and soft forms of global citizenship.

We therefore arrive at a multi-faceted understanding of neoliberalism as a discursive form. This understanding attends to the ways neoliberalism is not simply a “rolling back” of the state (though this is surely prevalent) but also can also involve creative and reflexive

discourses that interact with cultural forms such that “actually existing” neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002) is always a ‘hybrid or composite’ (Peck and Tickell 2003; also Kingfisher 2002). The task of research is therefore to track and propose understandings of what these cultural formations might be and how the processes of hybridisation unfold. Part of this, it follows, is that in its reflexivity we recognise neoliberal discourse as a “knowing” form that seems to be capable of appealing to all identities and allegiances. We might then also imagine exactly the extent of this reflexivity and how this can add depth to the conceptualisation of neoliberalism. This comes to the surface in the literatures on affect in volunteering where researchers impose few or no limits on the depths of bodily knowledge neoliberal power is able to reach. To take these literatures seriously is to surrender something of ourselves, because in the social exchanges they document even our intimate, subconscious and/or precognisant selves are put at the disposal of neoliberal expressions of power. These expressions are, one supposes, perfectly attuned to the rhythms of the body, and perfectly adept at dictating them. This brings us to a final aspect of neoliberalism as it is understood in this thesis: as a way of managing a population as emotional and affective bodies.

Affective expressions of power, while by no means a new field for theorists, have only recently caught the sustained attention of social scientists engaged in documenting the ‘engineering’ or ‘manipulation’ of affects (Thrift 2004a; McCormack 2008; Pile 2009). Over the past decade or so a detailed and creative critique has formed around the capitalist/neoliberal forms that have become adept at tapping into our irrationalities (Ariely 2008), anxieties (Isin 2004), passions (Hochschild 2003) and our consequent “nudgeability” (Thaler and Sunstein 2008). From these accounts we learn of the politico-economic forces at work on the body in pre- or non-cognitive ways that emerge in, and push on, decision-making, behaviours and attitudes. The broad thesis is that the subject of power and/or capitalism is less *homo economicus* than *homo sentimental* - a body of feeling and instinct often at odds with its “enlightened” rational mind. The body in this sense is both affected and affecting and these are both productive processes that work to ‘make things happen’, making it, predictably, a new terrain for more creative circulations of power. This is not to say, it is important to note, that engineered affects are necessarily malign - the affective register of anti-smoking material comes to mind - but there is the disquieting inevitability that access to the pre-cognitive body is an attractive proposition to certain interested parties. While this might seem a dystopian prospect, it is an ominously well documented fact that interested parties - principally governments and marketers - have much to gain if

affects can be harnessed effectively (Thrift 2004a; Anderson 2012).<sup>4</sup> Where the world is experienced as affective, therefore, we should remain circumspect and attend to embodied experiences as potential sites where, Ben Anderson urges, ‘life itself’ ‘is made productive through techniques of intervention’ (2012, 28).

Read against this wholly depressing prospect, the work on affect and emotions in volunteering to date takes on a foreboding resonance; what if the embodied experience of volunteering is ultimately a depoliticising distraction from the practices of corporations and governments the world over that perpetuate global inequalities? In this light government designs on subjectivity such as global citizenship invite critical attention that is made sensitive to ‘life itself’ as the ‘object-target’ of intervention. Making this all the more relevant is the current policy climate where strategists conceive of a ‘post-rational human subject’ to whom appeals are made in the “new brain-world” of policy making (Pykett 2012; also Jones et al. 2011; Dolan et al. 2012; 4.3). This is a decidedly difficult world to pick apart; while it seems clear that affects are put to use to justify Wars on Terror and the like (Massumi 2005; Anderson and Adey 2011), it appears all the more subtle where subjects become ‘emotionally invested’ in neoliberal forms without the significant affective push of fear. Nonetheless, pick it apart we must: if more “banal” sites than terror and security are subject to affective technologies of power, then the prospect is of a subtle but pervasive moulding of neoliberal subjectivities in imperceptible and entirely disconcerting ways. Where emotions and affects are felt in volunteering, then, research should attend to their connections with neoliberalism and their role in the formation and adoption of global citizenship.

Neoliberalism in this research, therefore, is a multi-faceted and multi-competent discursive and affective form of power that expresses reflexive knowledge of a population. Accordingly, critical inquiry seeks to track and document neoliberal forms as they work in and through social lives. This is an important task, but it does leave one final corrective that I revisit throughout this thesis.

At the same time as conducting research on neoliberalism this way, however, it is important to carefully consider the potentially hierarchical order contained within inquiry into, for example, “neoliberalised forms” and pose the question: how does the frame of analysis prefigure the dominant actor in such forms? However weak this dominance may

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<sup>4</sup> Nigel Thrift has put it that ‘the discovery of a new means of practicing affect is also the discovery of a whole new means of manipulation by the powerful’ (2004a, 58) while Ben Anderson points out that affect presents ‘the holy grail of consumer research [offering] access to the pre-conscious emotional reactions that escape the reflexive subject and yet, supposedly, determine decisionmaking’ (2012, 31).

appear, it is evidence of neoliberalism's inflated importance in research agendas. Perhaps this is rooted in the broader "colonisation" by economics of the social sciences (Fine 1999; Fine and Milonakis 2009) that has resulted in the analytically narrow research output of 'neoliberal this and that' (Gibson-Graham 2008; also Leitner et al. 2007; Boas and Gans-Morse 2009; Fish 2009). Without going so far as to dismiss any of the literatures reviewed in this chapter, such criticism of research practices does encourage qualification (or even scepticism) of too firm a connection between social relations and neoliberal forms. This necessarily leads to the corrective: where talk is of 'hybrid' or 'composite' formations, not only neoliberalism – in whatever form – is at work; something else makes its presence felt. As a growing amount of commentators have noted, framing research through the omnipresent faculties of neoliberalism tends to 'reduce the understanding of social relations to a residual effect of hegemonic projects and/or governmental programmes of rule' (Barnett 2005). The hybrid forms then might, possibly, be hybrid forms of "life", rather than hybrid forms of *only* neoliberalism. This raises the issue of neoliberalism as a research performance (highlighted in literature on emotion and affect above) and the ways it might perform and create realities (Law and Urry 2004). We thus arrive at issues to do with what we (as researchers) know of neoliberalism, and how we position that knowledge in the dissemination of research. A final use of neoliberalism in this thesis, therefore, is a reflexive one that considers its position in research and the interpretation of data.

There is much more to be said here but at this early stage this brief consideration of neoliberalism serves as a point of departure for the research project. On the one hand it begins to draw out the ways that neoliberalism is a creative and flexible actor, capable of appealing to a wide audience and (even) its innermost senses, while on the other this understanding also recognises that people living under the political economy of neoliberalism might also be similarly creative and flexible actors living in autonomous bodies. It is also, in no small sense, what we say it is; an analytical frame imposed on the realities researchers write. The terms are therefore set out in anticipation of a rich and reflexive account of contest, compliance and subversion at the site where neoliberalism and social lives (and research) meet.

#### **1.4 Lines of inquiry and structure of the thesis**

These literatures reveal a number of critical perspectives on global citizenship, volunteering and the ways they take shape amid and sometimes as expressions of neoliberal power. It is clear that both global citizenship and global civil society are terms that refer to a broad

range of concepts that reflect different understandings of how power operates in relation to these spheres. They also appeal to seemingly contradictory sensibilities, earning them a diverse group of advocates: from Chomsky to Cameron, Negri to Nike, the call comes from all sides. At the same time, neoliberalism seems quite adept at embracing and even harnessing the energy of such conflicting voices. Against this backdrop, the British Government has rolled out an international volunteering programme with the expressed desire to foster global citizenship and build global civil society. These critical perspectives, then, give rise to a range of questions to do with global citizenship and power.

To understand global citizenship under neoliberalism there must first be a clear articulation of what is meant by neoliberalism, the preceding discussion begins this process. Consideration of global citizenship departs from the question “what type?” and acknowledges that it is a mutable concept that might be subject to subtle but pervasive presences of power. Specifically, in the case of ICS, research should analyse the mode of global citizenship as it is imagined by the programme and how this relates to the various iterations identified in this opening chapter. Important points of entry will be the themes touched on here - development, responsibility and justice – whose place in the constitution of global citizenship will provide vital clues to the extent to which these volunteers are imagined as “critical” or “soft” global citizens. Further evidence may come out of inquiry informed by the literatures on global civil society and the ways that neoliberal rationalities come to be embedded in and diffused through third sector organisations. This is obviously a particularly important focus for the research given the direct involvement of the state in partnership with a consortium of development NGOs and charities. Understanding the dynamics of these partnerships may well reveal another way that neoliberalism works through ICS. Together, these separate but connected lines of inquiry will go a long way towards an understanding of how, or in what ways, neoliberalism inflects this particular iteration of global citizenship.

Of equal importance is to provide an ethnographic account of how global citizenship plays out on the ground. The purpose of this is twofold: first is to explore the ways that neoliberalism runs through volunteers’ interpretation and practice of global citizenship; and second to locate instances of subversion and resistance to neoliberalising factors. This is intended to provide a rich account of the sites where social formations come into contact with neoliberal forms, thereby making the research sensitive to the concerns of many commentators on neoliberalism discussed here who urge a move away from talk of “imposed” neoliberalism and towards an approach that acknowledges the contested nature



of “actually existing” sites where power and social life meet as reflexive and adaptive actors. To this end a theme running through the thesis is a questioning of the extent to which neoliberal power can be transcended by people, either as cognisant and active actors or as pre-cognisant, “touchy feely” bodies (Crang 2003).

There is too the reflexive element to this research project. This is centred on two connected concerns. First is the notion of socially engaged research towards a better future, how it might look and what imperatives it brings to the practices of research. Second is the use of neoliberalism as an analytical tool of study both in terms of its conceptualisation and its application in interpretive practices. The doing of this research itself, then, is to be part of the research project.

Over the next six chapters these lines of inquiry are broken down into what I hope are coherent units that come together to construct an understanding of neoliberalisation on the ICS programme while at the same time looking to ‘a better future’ by accounting for the moments and spaces where volunteers do not defer to expressions of neoliberal power. This is the specific aim of the research: to track power on the ICS programme and its version of global citizenship and to explore how volunteers might resist by taking on different forms of global citizenship. Accordingly, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Given the heterogeneity of different concepts of global citizenship, how should we understand that promoted by DfID through ICS?
2. Given the different understandings of neoliberalism how we can use them to track neoliberalisation on the ICS programme and its promotion of global citizenship?
3. How do volunteers understand and practice global citizenship?
4. How should socially engaged research engage with neoliberalism?
5. What would “research for a better future” look like?

Chapter 3 begins the research by drawing on government produced material and interviews with stakeholders to explore the neoliberalising elements of ICS. Focussing primarily on neoliberalism as a discursive form, the chapter builds the case that it is a policy that constructs volunteers as “neoliberalised” and “soft” global citizens. Chapter 4 turns to affective forms of power and neoliberalism that call subjects to act through appeals to the non- or pre-linguistic body. This chapter gives an account of the embodied elements to the

Government's evocation of global citizenship on the ICS programme. Chapter 5 takes pause to build on the short discussion at the end of this literature review to consider what is meant by neoliberalism and, importantly, what it means to frame discussion through neoliberalism. This part of the thesis sets out some of the more nuanced understandings of neoliberalism hinted at above where it is understood as both a reflexive but also a sentient expression of power. Chapter 5 also explores the idea of 'research towards a better future' by considering research performances of power and life with the aim of both thickening the understanding of this particular case of neoliberalism while avoiding totalising performances that reduce social relations to consequential effects of expressions of power. The positions set out in the discussion inform the two empirical chapters that follow.

Chapter 6 puts into practice the theoretical positions of Chapter 5 and presents interview data from ICS volunteers to show the ways that volunteers are reflexive actors who are capable of drawing on a range of discourses. Using discourse analysis focussed on intertextuality the data reveals critical elements to volunteers' understandings of development, rights and responsibilities, thus pointing to the emergence of global citizenship in terms different from those imagined by the British Government. The Chapter is intended as a counter to Chapter 3 in that both conceive power and the field as discursively constituted but from different perspectives. Likewise, Chapter 7 resonates with the commentary in Chapter 4, presenting a volunteer-centric account of a field conceived as affectively constituted. In doing so Chapter 7 explores the ways that embodied and affective moments in volunteering may, in important ways, lie beyond, or even transcend, the most subtle and pervasive expressions of neoliberal power. A short conclusion provides a summary of the study and suggests future lines of inquiry.

The following Chapter (2) discusses the methodology and research design used in this research project.

What we observe is not nature itself, but  
nature exposed to our method of questioning  
Heisenberg, 1955.

In this Chapter I present the methodological approach and the research design of the study. The discussion here is extensive because the thesis itself deals with two important methodological issues: the use of affective methods and the emphasis on producing a piece of socially engaged research. Both have implications for the collection and the presentation of data; these issues are outlined here and are discussed further in Chapter 5. The research takes the form of a case study in which ethnographic data is presented and analysed in different ways according to evolving conceptualisations of subjectivity and power. The project incorporates what might be described as two “turns”. One to do with a fine tuning of how research might engage with social justice by following what feminist geographers J.K. Gibson-Graham term a “non-capitalocentric” research praxis (2002; 2006; 2008). A better future here shifts from rooting out power to imagining and exploring “nascent” alternatives. The second turn involves an exploration of affect as an autonomous ‘push’ in life (Massumi 1995). This turn influenced modes of data collection in the field and presentation in the writing up of the research. Both of these directions come out of a dialogue between the literature review, data and my own research principles that I bring to the study. Consequently I draw on grounded theory, a staple of contemporary social science practices, as well as considerations of reflexivity and researcher positionality.

The discussion in this chapter begins with the key issues of doing socially engaged research and conceptualisations of power and neoliberalism. From the base provided by the interaction between these two issues I go on to outline the research design of the project. The chapter moves chronologically and is intended as an “unfolding” of the research design, beginning with the original intentions and discussing the decisions I made during this three-year project.

## **2.1 Research for a better future: approaching issues of power**

This study’s methodology is in large part framed by the objective of producing a piece of socially engaged research. Like many researchers I am politically engaged and became involved in social science because of its capacity to unpick the injustices embedded in the fabric of the world. Social science is, as I understand and want to practice it, ‘always already concerned about power and oppression’ (Cannella and Lincoln 2011, 81) and I would

identify with calls to make research more ‘problem-driven, action-oriented and applied’ (Jensen and Glasmeier 2010, 83). In this project there is, therefore, no pretension to detachment and the ‘the essential motivation is to change the world not just to analyse it’ (Martin 2001, 18).

The primary concern for this type of socially engaged research is power and its pervasive effects on aspects of economic, political and cultural life. In recent years researchers have come to frame discussion of these effects through neoliberalism (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009) where the process of “the market” imposing on social life is understood as a constitutive element of a “neoliberal agenda” (Larner 2000). Part of a better future, then, is seeking out and exposing the workings of neoliberalism in its deleterious forms. This particular area of research lends itself to inquiry of this sort where existing literatures repeatedly evidence neoliberalising processes in volunteering and global civil society. Accordingly, a large part of the opening chapters of the thesis is given over to considering such processes on the ICS programme. I believe this an important concern for any research project that engages with a world seemingly subject to the ever more creative expressions of neoliberal power.

## 2.2 Approaching power: discursive and affective aspects of neoliberal governance

This is a study of volunteering under the political economy of neoliberalism. Throughout I refer to “neoliberal power” (or simply “power” or “neoliberalism”) and lend it an agency through verbs such as *circulate*, *disperse*, *spread*, *resonate*, *move through*, *work through*, *push on* et cetera. This characterisation is informed by two ways in which research has engaged with neoliberalism in recent years. Recalling the closing section of the previous Chapter and the brief discussion of “neoliberal rationality”, or, after Foucault, a “governmentality” (2006), researchers have sought to understand how certain discursive functions “circulate” (and so forth) through social and cultural formations such that they might become constitutive of those formations. As such, the world is seen as discursively created (Crang 2003) and gaining “access” to neoliberal interventions in that world involves analysing texts via methods such as discourse analysis. Such methods recognise that ‘language is not a neutral instrument of communication’ (McDowell 2010, 160) and that it in fact produces ‘the effect that it names’ (Butler 1993, 2). This inevitably brings in questions of power and an understanding of discursive forms as, most commonly, performative (drawing on Judith Butler, amongst others) and/or the ‘delineation’ of knowledge (drawing on Foucault). These approaches imagine that “‘power’ lies in articulation’ and an understanding of

discursive forms, it is implied, allows us to know better what pushes social life (Holstein and Gubrium 2011, 344). The work of social science is therefore to document ‘lived patterns of action that broadly (historically and institutionally) “discipline” and “govern” adherents’ worlds’ and make connections with the ways that ‘discursive practice is manifest in the dynamics of talk and interaction that constitute everyday life’ (ibid.).

An understanding of neoliberalism such as this demands that research, therefore, attend to representations of the world as they are produced and “consumed” by actors in various positions of power. The job of a researcher in this sense is to theorise and evidence the connections between discursive expressions of neoliberal power and corresponding, or not, discursive expressions of social life. The case of ICS comprises a large amount of Government discourse and also provided the opportunity to collect discursive data from interviews with stakeholders and volunteers, thus making it an ideal case for such an approach to research on power.

The second way this research approaches neoliberalism follows recent work on affective expressions of power. Research in this area varies in terminology (intensities, emotion, affect) and differs in approach (psychoanalytic, Darwinian, naturalistic) but there is enough coherence for it to claim an “affective turn” across the social sciences (Clough 2008). How much of a “turn” there really has been is debateable (Leys 2011) but for many there is at least a partial paradigmatic change in direction where an increasing amount of research is made sensitive to the circulation of affects and emotions. Folded into this are concerns over the mechanisms of power such that the concepts of “affective governance” (Hook 2007) and “affective capitalism” (Illouz 2007; 2008) have gained currency over recent years. Attending to these affective sites has given rise to a ranging literature that documents the force of affect on different scales from political communication (Barnett 2008); post-9/11 securitisation (Massumi 2005; Anderson and Adey 2011) and the vibrancy of contemporary cities (Thrift 2005) to the ‘banalities of the everyday’ (Jones et al. 2011) such as event spaces (Kraftl and Horton 2007) and office work (Bissell 2008).

Affect is methodologically difficult to negotiate. Its “non-representational” or “imperceptible” nature (see Massumi 1995; Thrift 2007) makes affect seemingly evasive of the grasp of language, thus presenting significant challenges to conventional modes of research presentation. At the same time the entire concept of embodied experience rests on the notion that affects and emotions are inherently palpable sensations. Research therefore attempts to tune into the body, recording its affects while remaining mindful of what is lost in the transition from the field to written data. The task of the researcher is therefore

purposely more speculative in both the ways that affects are attributed to power and how the relationship with the affective lives of people is framed. The case of ICS presented a large amount of literature and imagery that is rich in affects and emotions, and also provided the opportunity to track these embodiments in the field through participation on volunteer projects.

### 2.3 The case study and data collection

The case study of ICS provided an in-depth and contextually specific example that contrasts well with other iterations of global citizenship (Yin 2003). This allowed analysis to build theory by using the properties of one ‘local’ case and situate it within the wider context of the typology of global citizenship identified in Chapter 1 (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Flyvberg 2006; 1.1). This local case is one that matters, too. ICS provides a high-profile case of global citizenship that is made stronger by the Department for International Development’s higher profile owing to its significant increase in funding from £6.76bn to £11.5bn before 2015. Amid recent cuts this has brought a large amount of scrutiny to Government expenditure on international development. ICS has not been left out of this often heavily critical commentary. A recent article in *The Telegraph* tells the story of ‘Gap-year holidays that reveal the madness of overseas aid’ and makes the claim that ‘Britain’s £7bn aid budget is paying for unqualified teenagers to travel the world’ (Gilligan 2012). This prominence – along with that of the Big Society in general – makes ICS a critical case, and one that offers a large and growing amount of accessible ‘information rich’ data (Patton 1990; Stake 2005). Additionally, in the current climate of global-scale activism through Occupy and similar groups, a certain type of global citizen sits at the forefront of public consciousness, adding depth to the discussion and a perhaps telling ‘general’ contrast to the ‘local’ case of global citizenship on the ICS programme.

#### 2.3.1 ICS-DfID iterations of global citizenship: secondary data

Secondary, or ‘preconstructed’ (Cloe et al. 2004), data came from freely available literature published by the Government and official partner organisations. Examples of this data are:

table 2.1

Title	Type	Source	Year
Building support for development	Strategy Paper	DfID	1999
Time to Inspire: National Citizen Service for the 21st Century: A Six-Week Programme for Every School Leaver	Pre-election Green Paper	Conservative Party	2007
National Citizen Service	Policy Paper	Conservative Party	2007
One World Conservatism	Policy Green Paper	Conservative Party	2009
Eliminating World Poverty: building our	White Paper	DfID	2009

common future			
Big Society Not Big Government	Manifesto	Conservative Party	2010
Big Society	White Paper	Conservative Party	2010
Building the Big Society	Policy Paper	Cabinet Office	2010
International Citizen Service launched	Press Release	DfID	2011
ICS implementation plans	Project planning	ICS consortium members: VSO; Restless Development; Raleigh International; Progressio; Tearfund; Skillshare; International Service.	2011
ICS website	Marketing and recruitment	DfID/VSO	2011
VSO Stakeholder Manager	Job Description	VSO	2011
Proposal for final delivery of ICS	Inception Plan	DfID	2011
Business Plan 2012-2015	Budget	DfID	2012
The voluntary sector and Big Society	Briefing Paper	House of Commons Library	2013
Returning volunteer blogs <sup>1</sup>	Marketing and recruitment	DfID	2011-2013

These sources of data contributed to exploring research questions one, two and three with the objective of distilling the Government's vision of global citizenship on the ICS programme. These data are used predominantly in Chapters 3 and 4, though different modes of analysis and presentation are applied in these Chapters. The different approaches to analysis came out of the cyclical process of data collection and analysis and are described below (section 2.3.4).

### 2.3.2 ICS-DfID iterations of global citizenship: ethnographic data

ICS offers the chance to extend textual analysis to ethnographic methods. During the period of field work I arranged to interview as many stakeholders as possible. This was a largely successful part of the research and I managed to arrange interviews with stakeholders at DfID, the "ICS hub" at VSO in Putney, London and also volunteer trainers at Progressio, one of the six members of the ICS consortium put together by DfID.<sup>2</sup> I also interviewed quite senior figures including both the DfID and VSO directors of the programme. This lent much to the legitimacy of the research project in the eyes of future 'gatekeepers' whose permission I would eventually seek to gain access to in-country ICS volunteer projects.

In the interviews with more senior stakeholders I was aware of an amount of power running through the meetings, and two in particular where the interviewees were quite skilled at controlling the dialogue. This was by no means sinister (the research is not overly

<sup>1</sup> Given that the blogs are published on the ICS and VSO websites for marketing purposes I did not ask for permission to republish the short excerpts I use (3.4; 4.5.3.1).

<sup>2</sup> The consortium, in addition to VSO, comprises Restless Development, International Service, Progressio, Raleigh International and Tearfund. Catch 22, Islamic Relief and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are 'organisations associated with the programme' (volunteers.org).

sensitive) but it was noticeable. Rather than seeing this as an instance of lost information, however, I saw these as similar to situations identified by Allan Cochrane where powerful and skilled interviewees' control of the discourse 'need to be taken seriously [...] as providing evidence about the ways in which power is constructed' (1998, 2130; also: Schoenberger 1998). Accordingly, on the occasions that interviews became laden with technical and economic terms I attempted not to bring discussion more obviously back onto volunteering and citizenship, but to allow the discourse to develop without too much interjection. This approach is consistent with accepted practice in semi-structured interviewing where a researcher's questions provide a starting point from which interviewees feel free to take their responses in directions that are not pre-determined by the interviewer (Longhurst 2003). Ethically this means that participants are respected and empowered (Cloke et al. 2004) and empirically the data was enriched where issues came up that either I had not anticipated (Silverman 1993) or that might not otherwise have been discussed (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2011).

The questions I asked followed the practical advice offered by guides on methodology. This involved a 'pyramid interviewing strategy' whereby '[t]he interviewer starts with easy-to-answer questions about an informant's duties or responsibilities [...] this allows the informant to become accustomed to the interview, interviewer and topics before they are asked questions which might require deeper reflection' (Dunn 2000, 59). Hence opening questions were 'easy-to-answer' and factual (Valentine 1997) and phrased in terms of 'what' or 'how' (Secor 2010). The following is a template of questions (with follow up questions in brackets):

1. How would you describe your organisation/department?
2. Could you describe what role you have in ICS?  
(and your personal role/organisation's role?)  
(your/your organisation's relationship with DfID and VSO?)
3. How do you select projects?  
(and how are they run?)
4. How do you select volunteers?
5. What do you expect of volunteers?  
(and expectations pre- and post-placement?)
6. How are you/your organisation involved in the teaching element of the programme?  
(what do you teach on development/citizenship?)
7. What do participants take away from the programme?  
(How might it improve their career prospects?)  
(what is your interpretation/understanding of global citizenship?)
8. How does the ICS programme impact development?  
(what is development?)



Intended as only a template, these questions formed the basis of the interviews and often responses would elicit new questions, giving the opportunity to explore different lines of inquiry (below, 2.3.3). Many of these aspects of interviewing apply to the interviews I conducted with volunteers, though with some important differences (below, 2.4.1).

During the period of fieldwork I conducted interviews with 23 people involved in the implementation of the programme. This sample was split between the UK and India:

Name <sup>3</sup>	Organisation	Role	Date (place)
Brian Rockcliffe	VSO	VSO director of ICS	20/06/2012 (London)
Michael Hill	VSO/ICS	Media manager for ICS	13/07/2012 (London)
David Bailey	DfID	DfID director of ICS	16/07/2012 (London)
Neha Buch	Pravah	Director of Pravah	14/08/2012 (Delhi)
Nitin	Pravah	Volunteer Facilitator	17/08/2012 (Delhi)
Vimlendu	Swachha	Founder and head of Swachha	24/08/2012 (Delhi)
Sasha	Bodh	Director of Bodh	23/10/2012 (Jaipur)
Simon	Raleigh	Assistant Country Director	03/11/2012 (Mysore)
Mr De Souza	MYKAPS	Head of MYKAPS	05/11/2012 (Mysore)
Vijay	MYRADA	Director	06/11/2012 (Mysore)
Paul	Raleigh	Project Manager	09/11/2012 (Mysore)
Mark Ashby	Raleigh	Country Director	09/11/2012 (Mysore)
Manju	Raleigh	Project co-ordinator	09/11/2012 (Mysore)
Leslie	Reach India	Director of Reach India	19/11/2012 (Kolkata)
Dan McVeigh	VSO/ICS	Communications Manager	22/11/2012 (Cuttack)
Binu	Restless Development	Orissa Project Manager	23/11/2012 (Chatrapur)
Vijay and Ayesha	Restless Development	ICS Site Coordinators	24/11/2012 (Chatrapur)
Purba	VSO India	Programme Coordinator	26/11/2012 (Delhi)
Silvia	Restless Development	Country Director	26/11/2012 (Delhi)
Praveen Kumar	VSO India	National Volunteering Manager	26/11/2012 (Delhi)
Ashraf Patel	Pravah	Co-founder and current youth programme director	01/12/2012 (Delhi)
Neha	Swachha	ICS Programme Manager	02/12/2012 (Delhi)
Deepak	Swachha	Programme Coordinator	02/12/2012 (Delhi)

table 2.2

The interviews were recorded and transcribed at the first opportunity. These interviews were often long (1-2 hours) and brought a large amount of data to the research project.

Although there were few problems with the interview process itself, I did encounter some problems bringing the data into the final write up. First, I had made a crude distinction between stakeholder and volunteer as if the difference were clear and each group homogeneous within itself. There are large differences between a DfID business manager and the leader of a partner (of a partner) organisation campaigning for farmers' rights in Southern Kenya, yet both are nominally stakeholders in ICS. Part of the problem is that the study initially imagined a passage from government to volunteers, the point where they meet being the hybrid or contested point of "actually existing" global citizenship. Rather, the reality was that a large number of disparate actors come together to implement the ICS programme. Having interviewed some of the leaders of these organisations, and having

<sup>3</sup> For discussion on anonymisation see 2.7.

spent time with their volunteers, a large amount of data was generated with the potential to reveal a great deal about flows of power from DfID in London outwards through global civil society. As it stands the thesis keeps this in peripheral focus, seeing it as an exploration of dominance, while focusing more sharply on the expressions of global citizenship by volunteers (for a full discussion on the emphasis on difference over dominance see Chapter 5 and below, 2.5. For a discussion of as yet unused data see below, 2.7.2.1).

### 2.3.3 Analysis of data in Chapter 3

In Chapter 3 I use the data from the Government and stakeholders to extricate the ways that global citizenship is set out for volunteers on the ICS programme. I examine both the secondary data produced by DfID and the primary data from interviews with stakeholders using discourse analysis. As an analytical technique, discourse analysis has been labelled a ‘craft skill’ (Potter 1996) that draws inevitably on the ‘personal, relational and contextual’ (Bailey et al. 1999) and can therefore ‘lack formal rigour’ (Kitchin and Tate 2000). For Gordon Waitt discourse analysis is ‘intuitive’ and methodologically elusive: ‘the process is left implicit, rather than being made explicit’ (2005, 179). Despite this wide acceptance of discourse analysis as an “art”, the process used in chapter 3 (and in Chapter 6, see 2.4.2) was in fact more systematic than intuitive and can be quite clearly explicated.

Though the approach I take focuses more on intertextuality than linguistics, it remains interested in Norman Fairclough’s influential methodology in which analysis takes a three-centred focus on: i) the production of the text; ii) the character of the text; and iii) the consumption of the text (2003; Dixon 2010). This approach aims at producing knowledge on how ‘statements’ govern the terms on which objects are addressed and how they are received and interpreted. It is on the interstices of the three points in discourse that analysis focuses:

meanings are made through the interplay between them: we must take account of the institutional position, interests, values, intentions, desires etc. of producers; the relations between elements at different levels in texts; and the institutional positions, knowledge, purposes, values etc. of receivers. (Fairclough 2003, 11)

Clearly in Chapter 3 the concern is more with foci i) and ii) – the production and character of discourse – rather than iii), its consumption (the focus of Chapter 6). The interview transcripts and the secondary material put together amounted to more than 300 pages of quite dense examples of Government produced and stakeholder discourse. I ‘reduced’ this data to its key themes through three procedures. The first was quite intuitive and came out of a combination of notes made immediately after interviews and the refamiliarising

process of transcribing. The second was through content analysis using a CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) program nvivo. I used this to produce some visualisations of the data as tag clouds that I use in Chapters 6 and 7 (6.1.1; 6.3; 7.2). The most important part of the analysis (and not uninfluenced by the two other methods) was the process of coding manually by annotating the transcripts and Government produced material. Table 2.3 below shows an annotated excerpt I used for the analysis presented in Chapter 3.

Text	Descriptive codes	Analytic codes and themes	Notes
<p><b>Mark:</b> can you describe your role in ICS?</p> <p><b>David:</b> I've been in this role for about 7-8 months now and when I arrived the main task was the <u>procurement of the contracts</u>... it was kind of around getting the <u>contracts</u> in place and so we did the <u>procurement</u> exercise and so.. invitations to <u>tender</u>, get a terms of reference written up, develop a <u>log frame</u> the whole works and we had an open procurement where a number of organisations made <u>expressions of interest</u> so we had to assess them, invite them to tender and so that whole process took around 6 months.. the pilot was done on the basis of an <u>accountable grant</u> which means that our management of it.. there's a greater degree of management over it than there is a contract because with an Accountable Grant the basic difference is, an AG (Accountable Grant) is where <u>er well it's</u> ... we basically manage the money particularly and the budget a lot closer on an AG in terms of the <u>specific budget</u> and because it" paid on the basis of cost rather than on the basis of an <u>output</u> whereas with a contract ... the outputs at the end of it are x, y and z so the most basic <u>output</u> with ICS is that we want 7000 volunteers over the period of the <u>contract</u> which is 3.5 years <u>and although we, well</u> ... we had our own <u>inputs</u> into what the priorities were and over where money should and shouldn't be spent but ultimately we now pay on a <u>contract basis</u> which is on the basis of an <u>output</u> so they'll come to us and say well "we've delivered 2,500 places this year and therefore you get x amount of money" they don't have to tell us it cost this much to put people on a place, it cost this much to do this, they just say... "2000 went"...</p>	<p>Contract</p> <p>Procurement (competition)</p> <p>Tender (competition)</p> <p>Budget/costs</p> <p>Contract (inputs/outputs)</p> <p>Responsibility</p>	<p>Contract state?</p> <p>Managerialism/professionalisation</p> <p>Market logic/rationalities of the market</p> <p>Market logic "Responsibilisation"</p> <p>Responsibility from state to volunteer sending organisation.</p> <p>Marketised positions.</p>	<p>Contracts and market rationale and the relationship with civil society actors?</p> <p>Professionalisation of the third sector via managerialism, audit, accounting etc.</p> <p>Were profit and non-profit organisations asked to bid in the same process?</p> <p>Responsibilisation of elements of civil society (individuals included). A mass of literature on this</p> <p>And what happens if the organisation doesn't meet the outputs?</p> <p>The shift of financial risk onto a non-profit organisation. Might that draw them into certain rationalities of the market?</p>

table 2.3

The process here identifies recurring themes as descriptive – or *emic* – codes and relates them to analytic – or *etic* – codes that are informed by existing knowledge (relevant literature) while also remaining open to new themes that may not yet have been considered. In this case the data, provided by a DfID official, lends itself well to an analysis informed by an interest in neoliberalising techniques such as managerialism, marketisation and professionalisation (see 3.1.1).

The second example below (table 2.4) shows the emergence of some key themes to do with the development imaginary of ICS and the emphasis on the self. These became central to the arguments I put forward to do with a neoliberalised and “soft” version of global citizenship on ICS (see 3.2.1; 3.3). Also of note in this part of the analysis are the unanswered questions as to who was speaking (see highlighted text), and the way this led the interpretation to literatures on the flexible capacities of neoliberal policy making (see 3.4.1). See section 2.4.3 for a discussion on the “conversation” between data, theory and

researcher.




Text	Descriptive codes	Analytic codes and themes	Notes
 <p>Action at home • Team leaders</p> <p>"The ICS placement has allowed me to develop professional skills in research, project management and facilitation."</p> <p>ICS volunteer, Sierra Leone</p> <p>ICS has come at a good time for young people. You gain skills that can help you develop as a person and in your career.</p> <p>Hannah Howard, volunteered in Nicaragua</p> <p>"Volunteering overseas showed me how people who are less fortunate live and opened my eyes to the challenges they face. The confidence I gained from my experience has helped me in my career and in my life generally"</p> <p>Bryony Meteyard, former volunteer in South Africa (aged 21 at time of volunteering)</p>  <p>"I learned a great deal from this programme, developing my personal confidence and belief in my ability to make a difference to people."</p> <p>Claire Griffiths, Milton Keynes</p>  <p>"The ICS experience has been transformative and has informed so much of what I have been able to do since."</p> <p>Tom Stevenette, Swindon</p> <p>Volunteered in Burkina Faso</p> <p>Working as a volunteer in Ethiopia was a truly life-changing experience for me, as I learnt valuable new skills and found out what it means to be an active global citizen</p> <p>Oliver Squire</p> <p>ICS volunteer</p> <p>"When people say 'it's a life-changing experience', it definitely is."</p> <p>ICS volunteer, South Africa</p> <p>"Definitely do it! It's a once in a lifetime opportunity."</p> <p>ICS volunteer, Bolivia</p>	<p>(professional) skills</p> <p>Career (self)</p> <p>Fortune (poverty)</p> <p>Challenges (poverty)</p> <p>Us/them (poverty)</p> <p>Life-changing</p> <p>Skills (self)</p> <p>Difference making (poverty and self)</p> <p>Transformative (life-changing, self)</p>	<p>CV building/self-actualisation</p> <p>Fulfilment, constitutive elements of the self</p> <p>Subject-making on the trajectory of productive citizens in a market economy (Foucault (et al.))</p> <p>'Lotto logic' (Simpson 2005) (the ascription of fortune to inequality)</p> <p>The (apolitical) (re)configuration of 'gritty realities' as 'challenges' and 'issues'</p> <p>Dichotomous arrangement of North-South</p> <p>The discursive arrangement of what skills are valid. Subject-making</p> <p>The reduction of development to an (apolitical) solution of hard work and enthusiasm.</p> <p>The validation that ICS matters as a life-defining moment. Validation/normalisation as aspects of power-discourse</p>	<p>Who is speaking in these texts? Lines blurred (between producer and consumer of discourse)?</p> <p>The emphasis on CV building as opposed to development, justice, reduced inequality?</p> <p>Plenty of literature on volunteering relating to the imaginary of development.</p> <p>Note: the silences here. History? Is it addressed in other government produced lit?</p> <p>Depoliticisation of inherently political issues, the depoliticisation of subjectivity (citizenship) more generally. Consumerism? Bauman et al.?</p> <p>The presentation of global citizenship – and active citizenship – as formative.</p>

table 2.4

### 2.3.4 Analysis of data in Chapter 4

The discussion in Chapter 4 focuses on the affective aspects of governance. The objective of this was to discuss the DfID imaginary of global citizenship in terms of its "affective register" (Thrift 2004a). To do so I focussed on DfID's construction of global citizenship through language and imagery that 'calls on the sensuous, the figurative, and the expressive' (Pelias 2007, 183). The data used here is the same as the secondary data used in Chapter 3, but the analytic codes and themes are informed by literatures on affect. The process involved coding textual and visual data for emotive and affective themes to build a theory of how the Government's promotion of ICS might address a sentient, pre-cognitive self. Table 2.5 (below) presents an example of the process. Worth highlighting in this example is the focus on embodied aspects of the Government discourse. This is put into relief by one code that came out of these texts of 'broken countries' (highlighted), a distinctly euphemistic discursive move that I set aside for use in Chapter 3 (3.2.1). The other codes, principally 'children' and 'security', lend themselves well to interpretive readings informed by the quite well developed literatures on the affective dimension of these figures (see 4.3.2).

Text	Descriptive codes	Analytic codes and themes	Notes
9.2 million children die before the age of five each year. Two million die on the day they are born – and 500,000 women die at childbirth. A third of children in Africa suffer brain damage as a result of malnutrition. 72 million children are missing out on an education. Every day 30,000 children die from easily preventable diseases. That's 21 children every minute. Thirty three million people are infected with HIV/AIDS. There are 11 million AIDS orphans in Africa. Every hour, 3,000 people become infected with HIV and 225 people die from AIDS... and 25 of these are children (OWC 2009, 8).	Children Children (deaths) Childbirth  Children (death rates)  Disease (AIDS)  Children (AIDS)	Children and Darwinian understandings of affect	Parallels with the use of children in imagery to represent the South in general (plenty of lit on this). Think images from Ethiopian famine, tourism brochures, volunteering programmes etc (and critical perspectives on these).
in the time it takes to read this article, 15 children in the world's poorest countries will die from a preventable disease like diarrhoea or pneumonia. We would not stand for that at home (Cameron 2011).	Children Children (deaths)  Home (UK)		
In Afghanistan and Pakistan the confluence of our moral commitment to development and our national interest is particularly clear. Building the capacity of the state in both countries to guarantee security and stability, deliver development and reduce poverty is absolutely central to defeating violent extremism and protecting British streets (OWC 2009, 47).	Morals  Security  Security (extremism)	Pride? Affective pride?   Terror as affect	Perhaps tenuous but physical manifestations of pride? Any studies in psychology?  Masses of literature on terror/fear as affects tied into affective strategies of governance (Massumi, Anderson)
Meeting our international aid commitments is profoundly in our own national interest. If we invest in countries before they become broken, we might not end up spending so much on the problems that result. If we had put a fraction of our current military spending on Afghanistan into helping Afghanistan develop 20 years ago, just think what we might have been able to avoid over the past decade (Cameron 2011).	Broken  Security (Afghanistan)	Invaded? Euphemistic  Terror as affect	A notable rewriting of history given the West's 40 years (?) involvement in Afghanistan. Something for chapter three?

table 2.5

The analysis in Chapter 4 also draws on visual methodologies, using the images used by DfID to promote the programme for a content analysis focussed on affective aspects. This is the point at which the research takes its most noticeable leave from notions of objectivity or reproducibility. Influenced by recent commentary on researchers' embodied presence (Longhurst et al. 2008; Askins 2009), the account I give of the imagery is at points highly subjective - so much so it seems incongruous to give a methodological account here. Nonetheless, there is a theoretical basis to the presentation of the data in this section.

An important debate within visual methodology centres on the structural interpretation of signs as meaning-making units of semiology and the critique presented by post-structuralist perspectives focussed on the subjective impact a photograph may have on its viewer (Cheetham et al. 2005; Rose 2007, 88-91). The differences were notably explored by Roland Barthes in his book *Camera Lucida* (1980) in which he distinguishes between an image's *studium*, a culturally informed interpretation of signs, and the *punctum* that escapes semiotic analysis and produces a more visceral impact, as Barthes describes it: '[that] which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)' (2000, 27). The concept of *punctum*, therefore, lends itself well to considering the affect that can be carried by imagery (while, admittedly, not lending itself at all well to a methodological explication). The content analysis I carry out attempts to articulate the uncoded 'sensitive points' that disturb us in a highly subjective and perhaps even unknowable way. To add weight to the analysis I refer to

research on affect from the field of psychology. For more on affective methods in this research project see below, 2.6.2.

## 2.4 Volunteer understandings of global citizenship

The volunteer perspectives presented in this thesis are based on eleven months of fieldwork that I conducted between February and December 2012. The first five months were spent in the UK attending ICS departure and debriefing days and using these events to make contact with both outgoing and returning volunteers. I interviewed in this period 15 volunteers who had worked on ICS projects in Central America, Africa and South Asia (table 2.6).

The majority of the data comes from six months spent in India. The choice of India was quite straightforward. Its transport infrastructure offers relatively easy travel between sites; it is politically stable and welcoming to foreign visitors and its large Anglophone population made communication uncomplicated by translation issues (however, see below, 2.7.2.4). In addition my home institution King's College London has a partnership with JNU (Jawaharlal Nehru University) in Delhi, making visa issues less problematic. Most important, however, was that India hosts the highest number of ICS volunteers of the entire programme, meaning that I would be able to speak to more volunteers without the expense of both time and money crossing borders.

Name	Host country	Organisation	Date (place)
Aidan	Zimbabwe	Progressio	29/06/2012 (London)
Karen	Zimbabwe	Progressio	02/07/2012 (Skype)
Kirby	El Salvador	Progressio	02/07/2012 (Skype)
Oliver	Ethiopia	VSO	04/07/2012 (Skype)
Chloe	El Salvador	Progressio	04/07/2012 (Skype)
Maheen	Kenya	VSO	10/07/2012 (London)
Kate	Zimbabwe	Progressio	10/07/2012 (Skype)
Jo	Malawi	Progressio	10/07/2012 (Skype)
Taz	Zimbabwe	Progressio	11/07/2012 (London)
John	Zimbabwe	Progressio	11/07/2012 (London)
Esi	Kenya	VSO	13/07/2012 (London)
Tom	Burkina Faso	Skillshare International	17/07/2012 (London)
Rebecca	El Salvador	Progressio	21/07/2012 (Skype)
Gemma	Malawi	Progressio	04/08/2012 (Skype)
Gina	Zimbabwe	Progressio	26/08/2012 (Skype)

table 2.6

Access to the projects often involved negotiating a 'gatekeeper' whose responses to requests were most often extremely helpful (organising transport and accommodation), this was certainly helped by having interviewed VSO's head of ICS in London before I departed for India. Once 'inside' an organisation access to individual project sites came through a quite informal 'snowballing' process where one volunteer leader/project supervisor would put me in touch with another. An important factor in this, I feel, was the rapport where project organisers realised that my presence on site would not be disruptive (on rapport see below, 2.4.1). In this way the gatekeepers gave what I felt was uninfluenced access and did

not, as is flagged in various guides to methodology, influence the data by carefully selecting participants (Cloke et al. 2004).

At the time of my fieldwork in India there were fourteen separate ICS sites, the data here comes from eleven of them. Of the three projects I did not visit, one was in western Rajasthan and had experienced issues finding accommodation and I did not want to add to what seemed a difficult situation. The other two projects were near the capital of Tamil Nadu, Chennai and, in the end, time and distance prevented a visit. The projects I did visit were based in six different states and run by three of the six consortium members (VSO, Raleigh International and Restless Development) with their respective in-country project partners. The map below provides a helpful visualisation the projects (fig 2.1). The time I spent at these sites depended on the nature of the project. For example the NGO partnered with VSO (via VSO India, an independent organisation), Swechha works in South Delhi with slum communities and since I was based in Delhi I visited regularly, got to know the volunteers quite well and would often take part in their activities. The projects in the Southern states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka were very different; volunteers there work in rural and often very remote communities of fewer than 100/150 people. On these sites the volunteers would typically sleep under mosquito nets in disused buildings and have no contact with the outside world for weeks at a time.<sup>4</sup> The time I spent at these sites involved a little more “full immersion”: sleeping, eating and working with the volunteers for days at a time.

The projects were focussed on various aspects of development. The focus of the urban projects was largely on participation of marginalised groups, quite often working with adolescent girls with an emphasis on empowerment and women’s rights. Rural projects were focused on sanitation and sustainability with most of the projects in the South involved in the construction of ‘eco-san’ toilets and compost bins for fertiliser. Common to all of the projects was a focus on global citizenship and an obligation to hold “Global Citizenship Days” with local communities followed by reflection by the volunteers. Each of the groups comprised 7-8 UK volunteers partnered with a similar number of ‘in-country’ Indian volunteers (though recruitment sometimes proved difficult, see below, 2.7.2.4) led by two volunteer leaders of either nationality. In all on each project there would be around 14 volunteers.

Once on a project site I conducted a mix of interviews and focus groups using ‘convenience sampling’, something that I had noted in use by other researchers on

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, on these projects Raleigh International does not allow volunteers to have sim cards to help integration with the community.



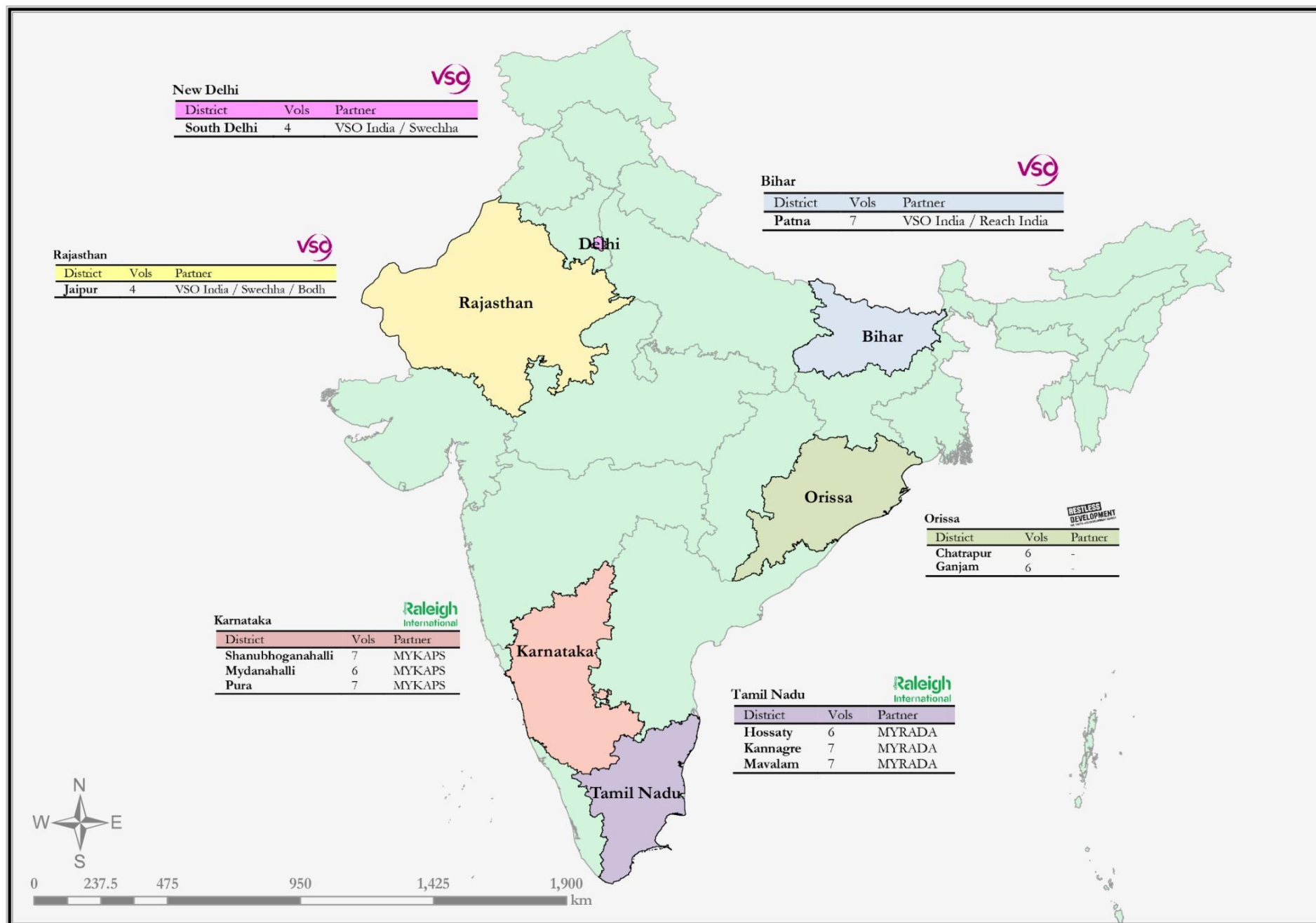


fig 2.1

A map showing the locations of ICS projects visited during the research



international volunteering such as Mary Mostafanezhad: ‘when it was convenient, I asked volunteers at the volunteer sites [for an interview] I did not select participants based on any particular criteria except their availability and interest to participate’ (2013a, 324-5). None of the volunteers I asked to interview and record refused to be included in the research. In fact most of the volunteers were pleased to meet someone interested in their work and the vast majority of them were happy, keen even, to have their real names used in the thesis. All of the interviews and focus groups were digitally recorded and transcribed at the earliest opportunity. The following is a list of the interviewees:

table 2.7

Name	Site	State	Organisation (partner)	Date
Rob, Will	Delhi	NCR	VSO (VSO India, Swechha)	27/09/2012
Nadeem	Delhi	NCR	VSO (VSO India, Swechha)	17/10/2012
Amardeep	Jaipur	Rajasthan	VSO (VSO India, Swechha, Bodh)	22/10/2012
Ellie, Becky, Sabha	Jaipur	Rajasthan	VSO (VSO India, Swechha, Bodh)	23/10/2012
Sara	Jaipur	Rajasthan	VSO (VSO India, Swechha, Bodh)	24/10/2012
Sid, Rob	Delhi	NCR	VSO (VSO India, Swechha)	26/10/2012
Eleri	Mysore	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS, MYRADA)	03/11/2012
Abby, Jack, Etta, Ross	Shanubhoganahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	04/11/2012
Sunil	Shanubhoganahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	04/11/2012
Lou, Kayleigh	Mydanahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	05/11/2012
Ed	Mydanahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	05/11/2012
Rob	Mydanahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	06/11/2012
Dan, Rod	Mydanahalli	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	06/11/2012
Gavin	Pura	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	07/11/2012
Jade, Daryl, James, Meera, Jo, Mully	Pura	Karnataka	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	08/11/2012
Charlie, Lucy, Sam, Sophie, Alex	Kannagre	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	09/11/2012
Holly	Kannagre	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYKAPS)	09/11/2012
Freya	Kannagre	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	10/11/2012
Becky, John, Tom	Mavalam	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	11/11/2012
Heather	Mavalam	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	12/11/2012
Phil	Mavalam	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	12/11/2012
Roz	Hossaty	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	13/11/2012
Rachel, Jo, Jake, Luke, Ash	Hossaty	Tamil Nadu	Raleigh (MYRADA)	13/11/2012
Kim	Patna	Bihar	VSO (VSO India, Reach India)	16/11/2012
Mike, Mitch	Patna	Bihar	VSO (VSO India, Reach India)	17/11/2012
Enita, Josie	Patna	Bihar	VSO (VSO India, Reach India)	18/11/2012
Polly, Sara	Patna	Bihar	VSO (VSO India, Reach India)	18/11/2012
Tom, Lizzie, Rooney, Aken	Chatrapur	Orissa	Restless Development India	20/11/2012
Adam, John, Chloe	Chatrapur	Orissa	Restless Development India	21/11/2012
Jo, Adam, Johanna, Becky	Ganjam	Orissa	Restless Development India	22/11/2012
Rob	Delhi	NCR	VSO (VSO India, Swechha)	02/12/2012
Nadeem	Delhi	NCR	VSO (VSO India, Swechha)	02/12/2012

All of those interviewed were British, apart from one who was of Swedish nationality but qualified for the programme through residence in the UK. I did not ask for information on education, provenance or ethnicity, though the external auditing commissioned by VSO finds that on the programme as a whole volunteers on the ICS programme reflect a representative cross-section of wider British society (ITAD 2012). This puts the total sample size at 79 UK ICS volunteers (64 interviewed in India, 15 in the UK), of which 41 (52%) were female, and all were aged between 18-25.

### 2.4.1 Interviews and focus groups: positionality

All of the interviews and focus groups with volunteers took place between June and December 2012. As outlined above I followed guidelines that recommend a ‘pyramid interviewing strategy’ (2.2.2). The interviews were semi-structured, though on a continuum might be considered “less” structured than those carried out with the stakeholders (see Dunn 2000, 52-53). This was connected with a reduced level of formality to do with positionality that, I believe, brought a noticeable thickness to the data.

Researcher reflexivity demands ‘we must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice’ (McDowell 1992, 409). At the time of fieldwork I was a 31-year-old student and I have interests in sport, music and travel. I am unmarried, speak with a regional accent and consider myself working class. I am generally (resolutely) unbothered by titles, “airs and graces”, officialdom and so forth. While on one level banal, these details meant that I shared quite a lot with many of the volunteers and meant that meeting them would not only be about me collecting data but also about them having their experiences heard. For the smaller number of volunteers interviewed in the UK (15) we would organise to meet in a café or a pub and I would always offer food and drink. These settings contrast sharply with the more formal meeting rooms at DfID and VSO offices. The meetings would begin with an unforced chat, helping to establish a definite rapport. This was a natural, non-strategic process that worked to level out potential power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee. For the larger part of the data that came out of fieldwork in India, this levelling out was even more pronounced. Volunteers were interested to hear about my research and to speak about our shared experience of being in India and the not insignificant culture shock it can entail. On rural projects volunteers were particularly interested to hear news from home.<sup>5</sup> Also of importance is the fact that the volunteers brought their own power to the meetings; they were engaging, curious to challenge why I was doing the research and keen to put me on the spot with questions about the programme. The volunteers’ reflexivity and agency (as well as my own), I hope, comes through in the writing up of the thesis. In short, though semi-structured in the sense that I asked the same questions during each interview and focus group, there was a definite sense that the volunteers brought information to the meetings, rather than it being a case of my eliciting specific details.

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<sup>5</sup> It became practice that I would upload the news onto my phone and volunteers on sites in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, where there was no network coverage, would take turns to catch up on current affairs and sport news.

The main part of the data used in Chapters 6 and 7 comes from these interviews and focus groups. During time spent on a project with a volunteer group I would combine the two, often conducting a focus group during or after dinner and using convenience sampling to speak with volunteers one-to-one during the day. The informality and relaxed nature of these settings,<sup>6</sup> I feel, empowered volunteers to talk candidly of ‘subjective experiences and attitudes’ that may have been ‘inaccessible’ via other methods (Peräkylä and Ruusuvaori 2011). The focus groups were hugely productive; the informal setting blurred boundaries between volunteers, their leaders and me, resulting in a dialogic experience that ‘brought us all a bit closer together’ (Bosco and Herman 2010) and reduced inhibitions so that opinions and ideas could ‘develop and flourish’ (Bedford and Burgess 2001). A particularly notable aspect of the focus groups was the ways that they provided a platform for volunteers to relate shared experience as their cumulative narratives worked ‘to stimulate embellished descriptions of specific events or experiences shared by members of the group’ (Fontana and Frey 2005, 704).

These practical issues brought significant epistemological advantages to the study. A large part of the thesis discusses the discursive construction of global citizenship; the ways that it is put into circulation by the British Government and DfID and then ‘consumed’ by the volunteers on the ICS programme. The interest is, in this sense, the discursive formation and reproduction of global citizenship by ICS volunteers. The dialogic nature of the focus groups was particularly helpful:

what focus groups do well is to produce interchanges between groups of people. Focus groups are especially appropriate for studies of how certain issues or experiences are talked about and debated. Focus group dialogues show ideas, positions, and how representations are taken up and put into play within a conversational setting. (Secor 2010, 199)

This was often the case in the focus groups where volunteers would work through their understandings of citizenship in the focus group itself, drawing on different experiences and different iterations. The Big Society and the ICS version of global citizenship were themes that repeatedly stimulated such debate. This made for a pleasurable process of collecting data in which confidence enabled volunteers to speak freely and thereby thicken the data. For each interview and focus group I asked the following questions:

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<sup>6</sup> Representative examples of these interview settings that stay in the mind include; a rooftop in South Delhi during a music workshop; various afternoon tea breaks between digging foundations for toilets in Karnataka and walking with a group of volunteers (and a dictaphone) through a mango grove one early morning in Tamil Nadu.

1. Why did you decide to do ICS?
2. What kind of project are you working on?
3. What do you think the programme will give you?
4. How does the project you're working on impact development?
5. What is development?  
(or if that was too abstract: how would this village/community look with more development?)
6. Why do you care about development?  
(so do you feel a responsibility?)
7. Why is [country] "less developed" than Britain?
8. Do you feel that your work on ICS has changed you? How?
9. Do you consider yourself a global citizen?  
What does that mean in terms of attitudes and acts?
10. How might this change your future decisions?
11. So are you part of Big Society?
12. Can you describe one moment from your placement that you will take with you, either a low point or a high point (or both)?

The final two questions on this schema ought to be flagged up. Question 11 is a *provocateur* that elicited many textured – and opinionated – responses. The rapport we established meant that mention of the Big Society – especially after more serious topics such as development and citizenship – found volunteers ready to “let loose” (see 6.3). The largely negative responses to this question influence the framing of the analysis in Chapter 6 to do with resistance and the issue of neoliberal co-option of resistance (on analysis see below, 2.4.2). Question 12 was devised in an effort to make the data commensurable with the conceptualisation of neoliberal power as emotionally literate. As an important element of the research design I would switch off the dictaphone, answer any questions volunteers might have and give them a minute or so to think about a “moment”. I would then begin recording again and ask the volunteers to talk freely without my input. The responses to this short exercise also had a significant effect on the direction of the research by bringing a renewed emphasis on emotional and affective moments in the field. Questions 11 and 12, then, acted as important nodes in the data from which theory was built (see 2.4.3).

#### 2.4.2 Analysis of data in Chapter 6

The analysis of data from volunteers took the same approach as that outlined above (2.3.4), though there was a greater focus on intertextuality as responses entered into dialogue with a range of other discourses. In this table are two examples of the process of analysis used for this data:

table 2.8

Text	Descriptive codes	Analytic codes and themes	Notes
<b>Mark:</b> why is India “less developed” than Britain?			
<b>Rachel:</b> I’m not fully sure about this ... but developing countries are like on a ladder or something and the UK and the US are at the top	Global hierarchy	Global imaginary of a core and a periphery	Shares a vision of global hierarchy similar to critical positions on development eg Dependency Theory, World Systems...?
<b>Jo:</b> We’re kicking away the ladder	Global governance (structural inequality)	Chang <i>Kicking Away the Ladder</i> (2002)	
<b>Ash:</b> So like we’re not helping fully to let like developing countries progress yeah, well we’re taking away what we had to develop from	Development/history	Voicing “silent histories”, links to a great amount of work in postcolonialism	Relationship between the past and present in core postcolonial texts... Said (1978)?
<b>Jake:</b> Because we developed the quickest ways and ...	Global hierarchy (Britain)		
<b>Jo:</b> Because that’s the best way for us to stay developed			
<b>Rachel:</b> To stay as a dominant world power			
<b>Jo:</b> By kicking away the ladder.			
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<b>Mark:</b> How does the ICS programme impact development?			
<b>Adam:</b> there are things the British government are doing which are so detrimental to any kind of development purpose that the Doha em... development where we go in and say intellectual property rights all these kinds of things and you end up it’s like we don’t want you copying our drugs to make it easier to have access to them because our pharmaceutical companies need the money for it and then we’re going to go in and say you don’t know anything about health we’re going to set up health camps for you! So but as long as you pay for the drugs from us...	Structural inequality	Global governance, and Britain’s place within it. IFIs	Draws in a lot of critical positions on IFIs and power in global governance. Esp. on the WB and IMF Very critical position that sides with a certain iteration of global citizenship. Could contrast this with the British government’s position within TRIPs and the way it frames it in development. <i>One World Conservatism</i> section of 2010 Conservative Party Manifesto.
	Structural inequality	WTO and TRIPs enforcement of IPRs	
	Global governance (Intellectual Property Rights)		
	Health		

The process of coding here was no different from that used for Government discourse in Chapter 3 (above, 2.2.3). However, these brief excerpts illustrate how the volunteer ethnographies brought two imperatives to the analysis of the data. First was that analysis would be richer for attending to the inter-textual elements of volunteers’ responses. At some points this included explicit references by volunteers to critical texts – and two rhetorical uses of postcolonial literary texts – while at others, such as with Adam, above, the discourse formed an expression of critical positions that would benefit from wider reading. For this example analysis took me to reading on the World Trade Organisation (WTO), TRIPs<sup>7</sup> and the British Government’s position in this particular aspect of global governance. This made, I hope, for a more compelling and rigorous interpretation of volunteer understandings of power and poverty. The second imperative was to attend to the silences of discourse because ‘absences can be as productive as explicit naming’ (Rose 2007, 157). Reading the transcripts from the volunteer ethnographies against the ICS discourse on development set into relief large differences between the two: one was outspoken where the other was silent. The highly frequent code of history (colonialism) and global governance (IFIs, neocolonialism) in volunteers’ testimonies brought critical questions to the Government discourse on development that highlighted its absences and silences. This, consequently, brought in a large amount of literature on development imaginaries and the erasure of past and present northern expressions of power in the South. The precise nature of these debates is not, for the moment, important, rather what I

<sup>7</sup> The Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (see 6.1.2)

hope is becoming clear is a dialogue taking place between the data, existing discourses and theory. The following section sets out the dynamics of this dialogue.

#### 2.4.3 Grounded theory, ‘balance and disclosure’ and the conceptualisation of discourse

As is clear from this account of the discourse analysis, there was a large amount of dialogue between the data, preparatory reading and subsequent reading. This is consistent with ‘grounded theory’, the “pre-eminent” qualitative research method across the social sciences (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). The principles of grounded theory are by now well practiced, though may not always be acknowledged explicitly. As a method of doing research it prompts researchers to put data into “conversation” with data to generate codes that become categories, that may eventually become concepts ready – and ready only at this point – to engage with existing disciplinary knowledge (Strauss and Glaser 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1998). Without letting go of this fundamental grounding of research in data, researchers have, in recognition of its ‘positivist, objectivist roots’, sought to make grounded theory more sensitive to ‘the silent workings of structure and power’ (Charmaz 2011, 362). Specifics vary but there is a very definite move away from “a view from nowhere” (Haraway 1988) to recognise that we are situated in the field both as researchers (and therefore situated in knowledge) and as interested parties in matters of social justice (and therefore situated in various political trajectories). Reconciling this situatedness with data-led research has become an act of both balance and disclosure. For instance, Lora Lempert takes issue with “pure” grounded theory approaches that forego background reading:

in order to participate in the current theoretical conversation, I need to understand it. I must recognise that what may seem like a totally new idea to me – an innovative breakthrough in my research – may simply be a reflection of my ignorance of the present conversation. A literature review provides me with the current parameters of the conversation that I hope to enter [...] it does not, however, define my research. (2010, 254)

There is a good deal of disclosure here and, in the final clause, balance where Lempert acknowledges that ‘the current theoretical conversation’ informs but does not drive, dictate or ‘define’ the process of research. This is, it should be acknowledged, the default position of research in academia: editors, publishers, doctoral panels and so forth each expect a literature review that leads to research questions and empirics that relate back to existing literature. I subscribe to this revision to grounded theory in the analysis I describe above where the codes, as *emic* or *in vivo* as they may be, cannot be entirely separated from the

interpretive frame I take to the data, and this interpretive frame, in turn, is not exclusive of my understandings of ‘the current theoretical conversation’.

Another issue for ‘balance and disclosure’ is researchers’ social situatedness. Kathy Charmaz, a leading figure in the development of grounded theory methods, makes the criticism that it ‘shares an emphasis on constructing emergent concepts but emphasises positivist empiricism with researcher neutrality while aiming for abstract generalisations independent of time, place, and specific people’ (2011, 365). This “pure” version of grounded theory sweeps away not only disciplinary situatedness, but also the social situatedness of researchers. Instead, I sympathise with the position influenced by post-structural perspectives that researchers cannot but enter the field as people with moral and political belief systems. To reconcile, Charmaz sets out a ‘shift in epistemology’ to incorporate a more “constructivist” grounded theory that comes to the data recognising that there are multiple realities each tied to discursive formations and each inextricable from innumerable and mutable alternative and simultaneous realities: ‘adopting this logic can help social justice researchers attend to the construction of inequities and how people act toward them’ (ibid., 361). I also subscribe to this revision to grounded theory in the analysis and interpretation of data. A pointed example of putting this into practice came in the volunteers’ responses to the final question of interviews with volunteers (before I asked for low/high points): “are you part of the Big Society?”. Coding the data - attending to the emic characteristics of discourse - brings us to an unequivocal response of the volunteers: “No(!)”. From an objectivist perspective we are then left with an example of dissent, or at least a sense of distance. However, considering Charmaz’s important corrective we are forced to acknowledge that among the multitude constructions to do with the etic, what we are actually presented with is a form of “commodified dissent”, or a phenomenon that is evident of a neoliberal form as a “flexible beast”: *you might not think you are, but you are* (c/f Vrasti 2012). Pull into this too the desire to work towards social justice and another question complicates the etic - the interpretation - are we seeking to “root out” power (and therefore showing, and perhaps performing, omnipotence), or engaged in giving voice to (micro)examples of resistance (and therefore the possibility of exploring alternative, probably better, worlds)? This is a convoluted and complex question that is central to this research project - and one to which I dedicate an entire Chapter (5) - but for the moment it is important to recognise that Charmaz opens up this question; objectivity is readily compromised once we become engaged in matters of social justice. The researcher is therefore central: central to interpretations but balanced between data and analysis and

ready - eager, even - to foreclose (political) agendas. It is this approach that I took to the analysis of data, always data led with an attempted balance between the emic and etic, and a full disclosure of how a vision of justice works through this balance.

## **2.5 Subsequent revisions to the understanding of “research towards a better future”**

I hope what is becoming clear is a gradual reconceptualisation of the way that this research engages the idea of power and a better future. In hindsight, it is easy to see that this project was originally devised – as so many are – as an exposé whereby the research would track a passage of neoliberalism (however imagined) from “top to bottom”. That is, the aim had been to trace neoliberalism and its rationalities from government through volunteer organisations and, finally, through the volunteers themselves as they took on a neoliberal version of global citizenship. A better future in this sense would come from the knowing of power and the implied hope that in knowing its presences there comes the possibility that we might somehow check, negotiate and/or resist its domination. What I did not realise – and what a great amount of research does not appear to acknowledge – is that, whatever the “truths” such an approach reveals, the implicit assumption is that power ultimately dominates and that power is the frame that the research takes to the world. Once in the field, however, while seeking to locate neoliberalism “at work” I found myself blinkered in the sense that a large amount of what was happening fell outside of my conceptual framework. This primarily occurred in two ways. First, as I discuss in the cases where volunteers call on subversive discourses (above, 2.4.2), the perspectives and attitudes that came through the interviews and focus groups with volunteers did not defer to neoliberal governance and its iteration of global citizenship. This led to the “turn”: to a non-capitalocentric approach where difference, not dominance, became the focus of data collection and subsequent analysis (Gibson-Graham 2002; 2006; 2008). A better future, from this perspective, would not be one of knowing and contesting power, but one that is emergent and elusive of power, a subtle shift that, I believe, shows faith in the data and allows the discussion in Chapters 6 and 7 to look from the “bottom up”. The second came from the embodied experience of being in the field with volunteers and a subsequent focus on using affective data from the field. The following section discusses this ‘turn to affect’.

## **2.6 Participation, the significance of question 12 and the turn to affect**

An important part of grounded theory deals with not only interpretation and theory building but the collection of data through the research process. It is important to flag up the influence the grounded theory approach had on the research project. Informed by



current research trajectories on power, neoliberalism and the body in its emotional and affective capacity (1.3), the research originally intended to explore the “affective register” of the programme and use this to frame volunteers’ responses to the final question (12) in the interview: “Can you describe one moment from your placement that you will take with you, either a low point or a high point?”. The answers, however, betrayed a richness which, I should admit, I was not expecting. To bear this out, here is the initial analysis of an excerpt from an interview in the first days of fieldwork in India:

table 2.9

Text	Descriptive codes	Analytic codes and themes	Notes
<p><b>Mark:</b> Can you describe one moment from your placement that you will take with you, either a low point or a high point?</p> <p><b>Nitin:</b> <del>ham, well ok so the</del> the last week ... we had meetings ... to present surveys... they were nervous, people were not coming, they had gone to these houses like four/five times... everyone was nervous... suddenly when the crowd starts building like you know ... you feed off that energy ... I wrote an account of this... this conversation's really scattered I feel like and there was this one meeting where I was feeling ill, I'd just got news of a friend's daughter not feeling too well and just like feeling very ... under. So I went to this meeting and I knew like that everyone was going to be there and I knew that everyone was going to be nervous I went there and the energy was depressing because these guys were scared, they were yelling at each other and all I did was just sat because I thought “I don't have the energy to do this today and these guys came... to me called me and I sort of slid behind and I just sort of sat there like sort of thinking that this is sort of happening. So then I was like ok, you fight ... don't worry it'll happen so then you sort of go around with them and I went to the ... I told them like ok, come on, and then the crowd started building and once one by one when they started putting their survey results and because some of these survey results exposed the government, the local authorities, suddenly you can see the energy and at the end of the day, the meeting was a success these villagers were like “you are a good send for us” you people, you 5 kids, they were like young people, ... so in India there is an Act where everyone's supposed to get minimum 100 days of work and we get paid for it so in Rajasthan the minimum wage for that is 119 now sometimes the work doesn't get done, sometimes there are penalties if you don't turn up for work, if you leave now the money's cut for that – but even if money's cut it should not be less than rupees 60. And there are people in the village who do not know how to read and write they were getting like rupees 30, 50 etc etc and they were just told by these guys that this is the amount of the money you get...</p> <p>... this was a masterstroke by the way, this is what I'm most proud of, the women got together before the meeting... so to be ready for the meeting ... they were up in arms, so you've basically been cheating us... the case went to the chief minister ... amazing things happen, people were crying, you know how success feels? And you learn when you reflect on that.</p> <p>I had to write it down because I was so excited... it captures the excitement, I have goose bumps just talking about it.</p>	<p>Feeling nervous Nervous Feeding off energy [incoherence]</p> <p>Feeling under Nervous Energy</p> <p>Energy</p> <p>Feeling proud</p> <p>Feeling success</p> <p>Feeling excited</p>	<p>Feelings and emotion</p> <p>Inter-subjectivity, affect Language, representation and non-representational Feelings and emotion</p> <p>Inter-subjectivities</p> <p>Joint feelings emerge, pass through bodies, the emergence of shared affects, embodied experience in the field. “success” as felt, Goose bumps: an autonomous sensory response?</p>	<p>There is more to this narrative than the words, the transcript misses something. Key to this: language and non-representational phenomena. The “energy” passing between bodies on a non-/pre-cognitive level.</p> <p>[there is a lot of stop-starting to this account. It's “scattered”, to use Nitin's word, but might this reveal something about affects, communicating affects and the non-verbal channels at work in the telling, listening to and reading of this episode?]</p> <p>Goose bumps – nicely encapsulates the embodiments running through this account</p>

This is a long text and, as can be seen from my notes, seemed to require an amount of editing before I felt it “quotable” in the empirical Chapters. Editing issues aside, I felt the text – as a transcription of (shared) feelings, emotions and energies – lost the intensity in two stages. First, the intensity of Nitin’s presentation of the event during the interview in Delhi; I had goose bumps, too, listening to this skilled raconteur bring alive what seemed to be an important part of his volunteering. And second, perhaps inevitably, an intensity to the moment itself on that field in Rajasthan (7.1). The problem was then both of proximity to the event and its energies, and (re)presentation in both the interview and analysis stages. Recognising that this was an important part of volunteering and following the grounded theory principle that the simultaneity of data collection and analysis means that ‘each informs and streamlines the other’ (Bryant and Charmaz 2007, 1), I revised the research design to look further into embodied experiences in the field. In short, data such as that

from the interview with Nitin (table 2.9, above) led the research to “turn to affect” in a way more pronounced than originally envisaged.

### 2.6.1 Participation

Over my time in India I participated on a number of projects. Amongst other things, I helped dig toilet foundations in Karnataka; cleared land for compost bins in Tamil Nadu; participated in a mock up funeral for hygiene awareness in Orissa and facilitated arts and crafts activities in Delhi. At all the sites I spent time with volunteers while they planned their work, held meetings and received feedback from their team leaders and NGO partners. This helped to ‘develop understanding through being part of the spontaneity of everyday interactions’ (Kearns 2000, 108). This made me an ‘overt’ observer (Fyfe 1992, 131) yet, I felt, an ‘insider’ because of the level of involvement I was afforded by the volunteer leaders and groups (Cook 2005). I followed advice that urges ‘participation before observation’ (Kearns 2000), ‘sensitivity’ (Laurier 2003) and ‘humility’ (Watson and Till 2010), though I see these as common sense features of human interaction rather than approaches specific to participatory fieldwork.

A very important part of the data came out of these periods of participation related to the short discussion above on interview question 12 on emotional and affective moments. Over time participation brought with it a realisation that something more was happening on the volunteer projects; the experiences in the field were notably more *intense* than the transcriptions of the interviews and focus groups. Such was my involvement at times that the line between researcher and participant became blurred, so embedded was I in both the work of the volunteers and their/our social interactions at dinner, during breaks, meetings and so forth. During interviews and focus groups, this made for tangential and sometimes unfocussed topics of conversation - and laborious transcription - but also introduced a freedom and a certain verisimilitude to the data. Out of this came an understanding – a feeling – that I was embedded in the field both as an active, thinking researcher but also as an affecting and affected emotional body (Askins 2009). I then began to make notes in my field diary and recordings of myself that focussed on the ways that volunteer work unfolded from “beyond” descriptions and transcriptions. This directed me to non-representational aspects of volunteering. Literature in this area attends to the mutual ‘buzz’ of shared activity (Dewsbury 2010) where moments are ‘felt’ through ‘an energetic intensity of connection’ (Conradson 2003, 1987). This began to form a large part of the data

I collected, mostly through field notes and asking volunteers to speak about their emotional experiences on the programme, further diversifying the data.

### 2.6.2 Affective methodologies: Chapter 7

Methodologically, doing research committed to sensing affect and emotion ‘takes the body seriously’ (Dewsbury 2010, 326), attending to its states while also imagining those that are evasive to representation. For researchers this means opening oneself to

[a] kind of energetics, an interest in moments of indeterminacy, undecideability and ambivalence, the abandonment of subject-predicate forms of thought, an orientation to thought as inclusive of affect, and, in general, a sense of the ‘tone’ of any situation, the play of singularity, which *might* (and only might) produce new virtualisations (Thrift 2004b, 85, original emphasis).

In a sense this involves restoring faith in the ‘gut emotions’ and impressions that work through spaces, as has research on cities (Thrift 2005), buildings (Kraftl and Adey 2008; Rose et al. 2010), offices (Bissell 2010), cafés (Laurier and Philo 2006) and immigrant centres (Longhurst et al. 2008). The researchers involved in this work conceive the body as productive of insight and use it as an ‘instrument of research’ (Longhurst et al. 2008):

the researcher can have the confidence of using her or his body directly in the field as a recording machine itself, knowing that writing these nervous energies, amplitudes and thresholds down, is feasible as such jottings become legitimate data for dissemination and analysis (Dewsbury 2010, 327).

This puts the body, as a site for sensing data, with (or above) staples such as the dictaphone or camera. In Chapter 7 I use two different types of embodied experience as data:

- i) A field diary detailing emotion and affect during interviews and focus groups. It is widely-noted that data from ethnographic methods such as interviews and focus groups is “co-constructed” in the meeting between researcher and participant (Charmaz 2011). Recently, researchers have begun to question how the ‘bodily presence’ that constitutes this meeting (Crang 2003) erodes the distinction between these subject positions such that interviews become ‘performance events’ that ‘transform information into shared experience’ that are as dramatic as they are “wordy” (Denzin 2001, 24). Prominently, Liz Bondi has drawn on this understanding to theorise the ways her “receptive unconscious” gets beyond the ‘inevitable inarticulacy to feelings [...] when they are described in words’ (2014, 44). In a study on counselling Bondi sets out how she draws on her subjective experience of ethnographic work: ‘I show how my embodied, affective response during and after the interview gave me clues that eventually furthered my understanding of emotional dimensions of the interviewee’s narrative’ (ibid.). In Chapter 7, especially at its opening, I follow this approach by attempting to present the non-verbal and non-cognitive aspects of ethnographic methods to consider what they might tell us about volunteer experiences on placement;

- ii) A field diary detailing emotion and affect during participation. Again in Chapter 7 I attend to the embodied experience of volunteering but, rather than dealing with the affects that weave through the telling of narratives in data collection, I use my embodied experience of volunteering itself. In this way the approach not only recognises ethnography as a tellingly embodied experience but also the field itself as emotionally co-constitutive and ‘epistemologically productive’ in the process of research (Proctor 2013).

The use of a field diary follows advocates such as Samantha Punch who argues it to be a source of data particularly suited to evidencing ‘the intensity of life in the field’ (2012, 90) and Rebecca Kay and Jonathan Oldfield who consider reflective diary notes to be ‘a useful way of bridging the gap between academic convention and a search for an ‘honest’ and ‘open’ way of writing emotions back in’ (2011, 1290). Following this I sought to be as open as possible in my diary notes and recordings (embarrassingly so), paying particular attention to ‘collective feelings’, ‘impressions left by others’ (Ahmed 2004), ‘affective atmospheres’ (Anderson 2009) and - perhaps most personally - emotional reactions that, writes Kye Askins, ‘can’t be disconnected from experiences and emotional registers across the rest of my life, the past as well as present, distant and near’ (2009, 9). Here is a short example with the text typed (right) for clarity:

fig 2.2

7.11  
Def. important: after work tonight we were invited (obliged) to have tea at the green house (THE Green House). I was the novelty but the vols had obv been there before. I was a really great (warm) experience. We were sat down, given something fried and some tea LOADED with sugar, as per. The television from the next room was super loud (there seemed to be a motorbike in the kitchen. Then the woman (name? find out) Shia? came and had the vols (females only) dancing, not particularly coherently but Everyone was clapping, smiling, laughing. What didn't pass between as language was more than compensated for by these bodily exchanges (touch: read on touch) - (the music) - there's a palpable atmosphere (Anderson/Thrift?) and def an intensity that's difficult to put into words. It's a mixture of sugar, heavy food, sweat, a hard day's graft, being here, music, colours (clothes!) children running around excitedly, movement (almost) in synch of bodies, clapping, laughing, smiling - all together all, all on the body and all without a meaningful word passing between vols and hosts. Yet the connection - I feel it - is strong, levelling and meaningful. Hungry, tired but warm/warmed. Don't forget this.

### 2.6.3 The problem of representation

A final issue to do with this type of data is presentation. The symbolic order of language, and especially that of (scientific) analytical writing, does not lend itself to presenting research on affects. Non-representational phenomena cease to be so once “captured” by the representational system of language. Constrained as we are – for the most part – to the printed word there is no imminent solution to this bind. This said, I attempt to use a variety of methods to present affective data, from conventional ‘analysis’ – though I avoid the term – of embodied experience to more creative ways that recognise that affects and

emotions elude language. Affective worlds, Elizabeth Grosz points out, ‘may require quite different intellectual models than those that have been used thus far to represent and understand them’ (1994, xi), similarly Simon O’Sullivan puts it that ‘you cannot read affects, you can only experience them’ (2001, 126). At various points in the two Chapters that present affective data (4 and 7) I attempt to put these principles into practice.

The most extensive engagement with these ideas comes in the latter stages of the thesis (7.4) where I make an attempt at ‘performative writing’ that evokes ‘worlds of memory, pleasure, sensation, imagination, affect, and in-sight’ (Pollock 1998, 80). The form of this writing is intended to reflect the nature of the data and its shift away from conventional modes of doing research. Incorporating this into ‘affect-based research’ John Dewsbury advises referencing ‘sparingly’, arguing:

I do this because [...] I try to enact the push of a non-representational and performative critique in order to emphasise that performative research methodology more often than not works best as a singular disposition to disrupt research habits and pare things down to the immediate and the embodied. (2010, 322)

The second half of Chapter 7 is the most prominent attempt at this type of performative writing. The Chapter (and the thesis) closes with an account of volunteers on ICS projects in Southern India in which the writing shifts towards the literary and leaves behind many of the impositions of ‘good practice’ in academic writing. This hopefully reflects the subjective and somewhat experimental nature of the way that the data was put together.

## 2.7 Ethics

The project received full ethical clearance following the King’s College London Research Ethics Committee meeting 28th February 2012 (appendix I). The research received no outside funding aside from a small grant of £2,300 from King’s College London to contribute towards my time in India. The participants, both volunteers and stakeholders, were not considered vulnerable; no form of deception was used and all participants were informed of the project’s aims and objectives. I sought consent by explaining verbally and providing an information sheet for each participant (appendix II). No financial incentives were offered. I emphasised to each that data could be anonymised and that even after interview participants could withdraw any information provided up until 1<sup>st</sup> June 2013. The fieldwork concluded at the end of 2012, giving all of the participants at least five months to withdraw. None did, and, of a total of 138 participants (23 stakeholders, 79 UK volunteers, 36 in-country volunteers), very few asked to be anonymised. Accordingly the data in the thesis is anonymised only in very few cases, apart from in a short section at the end of

Chapter 6 where I discuss reasons for changing volunteers' names (6.3). The research was therefore considered low risk, though there are three ethical issues that should be discussed here to do with i) disclosure and consent; ii) unused data and, connectedly, iii) in-country volunteers.

### 2.7.1 Disclosure and consent

Issues of ethics for social science researchers involve a negotiation of ethics *per se* and their institutional interpreters, Research Ethics Committees (RECs). The two are commonly found to diverge with a developing commentary on the (un)suitability of clinical research influenced regulations set by university RECs that are deemed by some to be unethical in their indiscriminate application across the social sciences (Hay 1998; Hemmings 2006; Dyer and Demeritt 2009). Within this commentary there is the concern that while few disagree with the principle that research participants should be fully respected and treated as autonomous agents, the idea of 'fully informed consent' can throw up a number of problems for research that does not follow the clinical trajectory of hypotheses-testing experiments. According to the ESRC (The Economic and Social Research Council), the body that funds most social science research in this country, 'fully informed consent' insists that 'subjects must be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved' (ESRC 2012). For this research the definition is elaborated by the King's College London REC:

Research participants must have the right to choose whether or not they will participate in research, and obtaining INFORMED consent is central to the ethical conduct of all research involving human participants. Fully informed consent in this context means consent freely given with proper understanding of the nature and consequences of what is proposed. The following process is recommended to ensure that this is in place:

1. Each participant should be given an oral explanation. Each participant should then be given an **INFORMATION SHEET** explaining in simple, non-technical terms, the procedures, any potential risks and hoped-for benefits.
2. The participant should be given reasonable time to consider this information and to consult others as necessary. For example, at least 24 hours is a reasonable period. Should you wish to offer less, you should explain in the application form why this is necessary and how you will obtain consent.

(<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/apply.aspx>)

By these measures elements of the present research are unethical. I took care to explain to all of the people I interviewed where the research was focussed and in terms I thought appropriate to the particular interviewee<sup>8</sup> but this exercise in informing met barriers in the politicised issue of "academic speak" (at what level do I pitch this?) and, more so, in the simple conviction that there was no way of reliably informing interviewees how their data

<sup>8</sup> Already this begins to be problematic: who am I to make a sensitive decision as to what terms another person is capable of processing?

would be used in the final analysis and presentation. To deny this would be a denial too of the research design and use of grounded theory principles that keep empirical predictions – ‘possible uses/outcomes’ – at a wary distance.

I state at the beginning of this chapter that ‘this is a study of volunteering under the political economy of neoliberalism’. To my memory I did not repeat these words to any of the people I interviewed, however, I did deploy other strategies to ensure that interviewees were not deceived in any way. For both the stakeholders and the volunteers I provided an information sheet that explains the research would ‘engage current debates to do with civil society independence, neocolonialism and global citizenship’, I also explained this verbally focusing especially on the Big Society and the role of the Coalition Government in the voluntary sector.<sup>9</sup> Thus, a fair and honest reflection of my research interests was communicated, even though I was unable to provide a definitive set of possible outcomes.<sup>10</sup> To mitigate I promised to circulate published work and, should any sensitive issues arise in the process of analysis, I would contact the specific interviewee to discuss. In this way, I feel, the ‘future outcomes’ were incorporated into the process of consent and disclosure in a way that may not strictly conform to the REC guidelines but does reflect the ethical principle of treating research participants with respect (see Hay 2003).

### 2.7.2 Unused data

As with any research project an amount of data is discarded in the process of analysis. In this project data from stakeholders and in-country volunteers is largely absent from the final write up. The following two sections discuss the reasons for this.

#### 2.7.2.1 Unused data from stakeholders

I interviewed a significant number of both British and Indian stakeholders in the ICS programme. These ranged from Country Directors of large development agencies to volunteer facilitators working for grassroots NGOs. Much of the data from these interviews is not included in the research. I took this decision out of both ethical and conceptual considerations.

Building on important work that locates the diffusion of neoliberal rationalities through global civil society organisations (see 1.2) one of the initial research directions of this project was to track these flows of power in the ICS programme. In India I began

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<sup>9</sup> Though the reference to neocolonialism may seem out of place, most interviewees (at least at DfID and ICS consortium organisations) expected such a line of inquiry in light of the then recently published Demos report warning that ICS may be ‘a new way for the West to assert its power’ (Demos, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Nor, it should be noted, did interviewees expect any.

these lines of inquiry asking the questions detailed above (2.3.2), with one additional question: “has your organisation’s involvement with ICS changed the work of the organisation as a whole?”. This line of inquiry was influenced by the literature review and sought evidence of a passage of power from DfID in London out to other parts of global civil society. Once in India, I felt such inquiry to be ethically problematic. I found myself in offices with voluntary NGO workers who were engaged in advocacy for social justice issues (women’s rights, rights to land) and I was armed with meticulously devised questions to extricate the ways that neoliberalism had in some way infiltrated their work. It felt conceited and I began to understand that working their responses through the frame of neoliberalism would represent a distinctly unjust reduction of the work they do. This happened very early in the fieldwork, specifically during an interview with Vimlendu, the head of Swechha, an ICS partner in Delhi. When I asked him about funding his response gave pause for thought:

We don’t take money from any Tom, Dick or Harry, we don’t take it from random organisations who want to give us money [...] so for most of these people [current funders] when they came on board, they came on board unconditionally so it wasn’t as if we wanted er ... they don’t drive our programmes, they’ve seen our body of work and they support it also in terms of ethics as in we will not take money from Coca Cola, let’s say, we will not take money from Dow Chemicals for example ... some bit of ethics some of bit of values, one is what the company does in its own life, second is what does it want to do with us, you know that’s the reason ... you know most of these big funding agencies try to drive your agenda we’ve been very strict about that we do not want that and in the process we’ve lost a few funders also, that’s ok ... Dow Chemicals [is] a “no no” (Vimlendu, founder and director of Swechha (an ICS partner)).<sup>11</sup>

Swechha is an organisation that seeks to engage young people in active citizenship through volunteering. Founded in 2000 as a project to raise awareness of Delhi’s neglected and highly polluted river, the Yamuna, Swechha retains its environmentalist roots while also working on social development in the city’s slums and provides support for children who want to gain access to school. Its focus on advocacy and lobbying makes it a voice often critical of Indian Government policy and its firm stance on the source of funding is designed to maintain its authenticity in campaigns on development. Perhaps arbitrary, but as a piece of critical research guided by a strong ethical imperative to explore an improved, better future, I thought Swechha, especially in light of its founder’s own ethical position, an unfair object of neoliberal critique. This extends too across many of the other stakeholders I came to interview in India whose involvement with ICS might provide

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<sup>11</sup> Where transcript material in this research project is quoted I denote pauses in speech with three full stops ... and ellipsis with three bracketed full stops [...]. I also regularly use italics to denote stress and to draw attention to specific words and phrases that are later quoted in the main body of the text.



conceptual links to neoliberal flows of power across the globe but whose work is certainly not determined by them.

This feeds into a conceptual consideration to do with this data, of which Vimlendu's account is illustrative. While there is clearly a story to be told using data of this sort - centred either on the co-option of (previously) autonomous global civil society actors or the "working" of neoliberal spaces by those actors - the turns I describe earlier in this chapter both necessitate more volunteer-centric perspectives on development, volunteering and global citizenship. The turns to 'difference not dominance' and affective moments in the field re-orientated the project's focus on global citizenship seeing it as emergent not imposed. As a necessary fallout from this (re)conceptualisation, stakeholder perspectives, while still important, became secondary to those of volunteers. For this reason there remains a body of data to take into another project, just not this one.

#### 2.7.2.2 Unused data from in-country volunteers

A larger absence in the research and conceivably more problematic is that of in-country volunteers in the final version of the thesis. I have given careful consideration to this serious issue and here I give my justification for the decisions made. Although I cannot fully justify such an absence I do believe that both ethically and conceptually it is right that the data from in-country volunteers remains unused.

The ICS model pairs each British volunteer with a counterpart in the host country. In some of the latest literature on the programme in-country volunteers are included in the vision of global citizenship where 'the programme aims to create' not 7,000 but '14,000 global citizens' (volunteerics.org). One part of the original research aims was to carry out a cross-cultural comparison between Indian and British volunteers' understandings of global citizenship. This met with some inhibiting practical problems:

- i) In urban areas (Delhi, Jaipur) and some rural areas (both sites in Orissa) in-country volunteers were recruited by partner organisations from within. This meant that existing employees of an organisation would have their usual wage augmented by a stipend provided by the British partner.<sup>12</sup> Invariably these participants on ICS were not working with the British counterparts but rather mixing short stints with their primary responsibilities with the host organisation;
- ii) In rural areas recruitment of in-country volunteers proved difficult. This was because the programme ran through Diwali and some families were not keen to allow their young people to be away over the festival period. This was particularly pronounced in the recruitment of female participants;

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<sup>12</sup> These stipends are not provided to UK volunteers and are meant as an incentive for Indian in-country volunteers.

- iii) All of the in-country volunteers I met were paid a ‘small but significant’ stipend to take part on the ICS programme. For those living in especially poor regions (the sites in Bihar and Orissa particularly) this regular stipend for three months was apparently invaluable to volunteers and their families. It is an uncomfortable truth but this calls into question their status as volunteers, and presents problems regarding the implicit assumption throughout that volunteers are invested (even negatively) in the ICS programme, development and global citizenship. I return to this admittedly problematic point below;
- iv) A large number (67%) of volunteers in the eastern and southern states had studied or were studying social care and were recruited through their teachers as a college-provided work experience placement. Combined with the stipend, this work experience element complicated these volunteers’ participation on ICS as a voluntary programme.

The difficulties with recruitment meant that on the project sites with the 64 British volunteers I interviewed in India there were only a total of 44 Indian volunteers. At least 16 of these were already in regular employment (both paid and unpaid) with the host organisation and thus were not regularly on site and working on the project. In addition, and this was most prevalent in the eastern and southern states I visited, only a small proportion of the in-country volunteers were female (22% compared to 52% of British volunteers). All of this made for a sample markedly different from what I had expected – and markedly different from the DfID model of pairing UK and in-country counterparts together on, presumably, equal terms. These issues with sampling are not insurmountable and there is a story to be told here to do with mobility and access to the spaces of global citizenship, but there were further problems in the collection of data that, I feel, makes the data problematic for this particular piece of research.

Language and translation proved difficult in interviews, transcription and analysis. In Delhi, where I began the research, all of the in-country volunteers were Anglophone but in all of the other sites I used a translator from the respective language to English.<sup>13</sup> This is where I began to realise that certain ideas were culturally dependent so – though I had not planned to ask Indian volunteers about, for example, the Big Society – “citizenship”, “responsibility” and even “volunteering” would frequently cause interviewees (and translators) to ask for clarification before responding. Such terms, I now realise, might be considered ‘untranslatable’ in the way I had intended them, tied as they are to ‘contingent contexts’ whose specificity finds no equivalent in another language (Frenk 1995). Despite my efforts to (re)tailor and/or reformulate questions, whatever the answer it seemed that translation brought with it the reduction of words into my (our) (academic) English language framework, echoing Stanley Tambiah’s experience of translation: ‘a task which

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<sup>13</sup> In Rajasthan and Bihar this was Hindi; in Orissa, Oriya; Karnataka, Kannada and Tamil Nadu, Tamil.

ultimately entails the mapping of ideas and practices onto Western categories of understanding' (1990, 3). Where a translator was not available the interview would take place in English involving often simplified questions and the volunteer(s) providing responses similarly inhibited by both my lack of language knowledge and their having to grapple with English. In these interviews, because I was asking the questions in English, the volunteers were unable to convey or do justice to the ideas that they might have wanted to get across. These issues with language and translation also meant that rapport, so important in the interview process (especially when collecting data on emotions and affect, see above, 2.6.2), was reduced and so not nearly as productive in terms of helping to facilitate rich, textured responses.

These linguistic differences also brought to the surface huge gaps in socio-economic backgrounds within the sample: "why did you decide to do ICS?" garners wholly different answers from the Anglophone from Gurgaon<sup>14</sup> than it does from the Kannada speaking daughter of a farm labourer in Karnataka. This brought a large amount of variation from within the sample of Indian volunteers and it was apparently the case that urban middle class Indian volunteers shared more with their British counterparts than with their rural compatriots, bringing into question the lines drawn in a British-Indian cross-cultural study. While, again, these factors are not problematic in themselves, they did make the sample quite different to that of the British volunteers and so presented problems in using the sample as a comparative case. All of which meant that a cross-cultural comparison would prove difficult and potentially methodologically flawed and hence I dropped this element of the study.

More urgent, however, are the ethical issues to do with this data. Aside from the practicalities of language and translation, very quickly I realised that the questions I was asking were inappropriate and actually devised to ask questions of British Government policy. Issues of citizenship and development did not register high on many in-country volunteers concerns while on the programme and so I was unwittingly mapping volunteers' words onto distinctly Western ways of understanding volunteering. The question "what is a global citizen?" most often brought confusion where in-country volunteers had not been subject to the same training and promotional material as their British counterparts and had not previously made links between their work on ICS (some did not know they were on a British Government funded programme) and global citizenship. This led to my feeling quite foolish in many interviews and recalling some postcolonial literary theory:

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<sup>14</sup> An affluent city within the National Capital Region (NCR) of Delhi

I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the coloniser, the speaking subject, and you are now at the centre of my talk. (hooks 1990, 343)

Following these sometimes awkward interviews and the ensuing awareness that my intentions shared something with that described by bell hooks, “what is a global citizen?” is a question that, along with others, I quickly dropped, again reducing the comparability between the potential samples.

Further affecting the data was the nature of the interview encounter itself and the way it laid bare the relational understandings of positionality (England 1994; Rose 1997). Of course I had prepared for this pre-departure, following the REC guidelines and theorising how the power that underpins positionality might be minimised in the research design; even trying to avoid the potential pitfalls of ‘transparent positionality’ and its own assumptions to know (or worse, colonise) research participants and their positions. This preparation was entirely inadequate. For the Indian volunteers (all of them) I was not working class, I am, in fact incredibly privileged; I do not have a regional accent, I had an accent that was quintessentially English and thus admired (and subject to frequent compliments); I was not a student, I was a researcher who had travelled thousands of miles (students from India do not ordinarily enjoy the mobility to do this) from King’s College London to India, where institutional prestige is met with reverence. Additionally, I am male, 31 and unmarried, facts that carry different cultural resonance for, especially, some of the female volunteers. While I readily concede that I cannot know how I was viewed by any of the research participants I believe that these factors meant that my positionality – and my identity, possibly – was therefore radically changed. And as a consequence the research encounter became difficult to manage.

The difficulty I found, however, would go undetected by an ethics committee. I always followed procedures, had questions and information translated and, obviously, treated all of the in-country volunteers with respect. This is what ethics committees ask. The changes in interview dynamics is the subject of a well developed body of literature by (especially) feminist geographers (Haraway 1988; Katz 1992; Pratt 1992; Rose 1993; Gibson-Graham 1994; 1997; Nagar 2002); reading this and preparing with the aid of supervisors and doctoral upgrade panels is supposed to make the research encounter manageable. It perhaps does, but only on one side of the division between ethics *per se* and institutional ethical requirements. There is no preparation for the awkwardness, the shyness, the nervous laughs when no-one quite understands the question, or when an

interviewee is scared of giving a “wrong” answer. There is little advice for the early-career researcher who pitches questions to a linguistic and cultural register that is not (or cannot be?) understood. There too seems to be a suspicious silence towards a researcher sensing a wariness at signing a consent form, not *really* understanding what is being asked, or a wariness of a dictaphone. These moments of awkwardness, embarrassment, and wariness all pass undetected by the structural frame of an ethics committee, yet they throw up all kinds of ethical issues that seem not to be included in the dialogue on positionality, consent and confidentiality. Informed consent is never clean-cut, but we might be more honest and make clear where it is subject to doubt. And we should also recognise that we can sense this in ways more telling than a (missing) signature on a consent form. As I hope is clear at this point, there were instances where I felt that the power resulting from my positionality *in some way* left *some* in-country volunteers feeling *some kind of* pressure to be interviewed, sign the consent form and agree to being recorded. Whatever I did to try to reduce this, I cannot deny its presence.

As a consequence, there is an ethical “snowballing” and this research project is yet another that is set in the South, talks about the South; yet Southern presences are, for the most part, absences. Recalling bell hooks, above, however, and the prominent theme in postcolonialism to do with the western presumption of the ‘permission to narrate’ (Said 1984) or (re)appropriating “subaltern” voices (Spivak 1988), I feel the decision not to force Indian volunteers’ words into the clearly UK-centric analytical frame the right one. Nonetheless, there is a resounding silence within the research. I am profoundly uncomfortable with this, and there is no resolution in the pages of this thesis.

I can, however provide one mitigating factor in my choice and two small steps towards exploring ways to rebalance the obvious centrism of this research project. In mitigation, it would be heavy-handed to take questions of the Big Society, a Coalition rendering of global citizenship and intellectualised ideas of neoliberalised subjectivity and put them into dialogue with people whose culture is little like mine and whose signs I can read even less proficiently than I can those of my own. Interpretation is a precarious business without bringing into it further instability and the inherently politicised positionality of a British researcher taking an undeniably westerncentric academic conceptual framework and using young Indians’ words to know, publish and graduate. For these reasons a mitigating factor in the decision not to use the data collected from these interviews is that both using them and not using them is unsettlingly problematic, but leaving them aside for now - given the westerncentric frame - appears best practice.

One small step to redressing the balance comes at the end of the thesis in Chapter 7 where the analysis breaks into a narrative in which “Others” are central to global citizenship, along with their British volunteers (7.4). This is a rhetorical attempt to do research in a way that circumvents the problems of representation that come with research in a postcolonial context. More than twenty years ago James Sidaway called for ‘mak[ing] overseas research part of the blurring of the distinction between (or to use the jargon of social theory, the ‘deconstruction’ of) ‘us’ and ‘them’ (1992, 407), the literary and affective end to Chapter 7 is one way of responding to this, and may well offer stimulating directions for research that both circumvents dichotomies on the one hand and the erasure of difference on the other. A second step comes in the future use of the data as part of a post-doctoral project on Border-Crossings and Citizenship at the University of Oulu in Finland. The data, I feel, can be used to first draw out the problematic nature of DfID’s claim to creating 14,000 global volunteers, clearly this risks reducing in-country volunteers across the world as “tack ons” and not afforded the same privileges as the British volunteers. Without having yet developed this, my instinct is that global citizenship, as promoted by DfID, masks over inequalities and privileges concerning mobilities, access to information and even freedom of expression. The interviews with Indian volunteers, I feel, may provide perspectives on the inequalities of global citizenship and therefore empirical evidence of its alignment with broader geopolitical patterns of power. These are grand claims that are approached in this thesis; analysis of the as yet unused data may well add weight to the ongoing debate on global citizenship, its advocates, detractors and adherents.

## 2.8 Closing comments: a methodologically diverse and politically informed approach to data collection and presentation

As I hope is clear, this research project was designed to take a methodologically diverse and politically informed approach to data collection and presentation. In this Chapter I have outlined the approach(es) taken and the thought processes behind them. I also acknowledge the study’s shortcomings and detail the revisions made to the research design. This gives an insight into research as “process not product” and refuses, as does the thesis as a whole, to reproduce the ‘god-trick of the invisible, omnipresent narrator’ in favour of recognising ‘the researcher as a co-present interlocutor’ (Crang 2003, 499; also: Haraway 1988). At all times I make clear the techniques used as data is presented and discussed and I reiterate that there is no pretention to neutrality but rather a lively and ethical concern with writing into being the possibilities of a better future. The result is a methodology that is pluralistic while very certainly politically consistent. It recognises that social inquiry is

‘productive’ and helps to ‘*make* social realities and social worlds’ (Law and Urry 2004, 391, original emphasis). At each turn of the research design I have taken this into consideration. Through the course of the research I hope it becomes clear that where power is broadly conceived as a discursive and affective force I seek to both shed light on its workings while also asserting – celebrating – moments of subversion or resistance. The result is, I believe, a highly reflexive inquiry into global citizenship as it is produced and practiced through volunteering on the ICS programme.

Part of the Big Society agenda, ICS is sending 7,000 18-25 year-olds abroad ‘to fight world poverty and help the world’s poorest’. Each volunteer will spend 3-6 months on a project in a low- or middle-income country to ‘build a stronger global civil society’ (DfID 2011a). The ICS programme is run through a consortium of six non-governmental organisations headed by Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO). In turn, each of these organisations works through partnerships with organisations in ‘24 of the world’s poorest countries’ in the South (volunteerics.org).<sup>1</sup> ICS is seen as a ‘flagship programme’ and is presented as a vehicle for community development both at home and abroad; through the programme, according to David Cameron, Britain’s youth can become more employable while simultaneously reducing global poverty. Global citizenship is integrated into the programme as an expressed “output” of the contracts set in place when DfID put together the consortium. ICS volunteers, it is envisioned, ‘no matter where they’re from, will leave the programme as well informed global citizens with new skills that contribute to personal development as life long active citizens’ (ibid.). This goal is consistent across all stakeholders from the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for International Development to the individual ICS consortium members (Cameron 2009; DfID 2011b). On the programme itself, the promotion of global citizenship is incorporated at each step of the ‘volunteer journey’, from application and selection days to return volunteer events and continued post-placement ‘UK Action’.

This chapter critically examines the role of the British Government in ICS and global citizenship using neoliberalism as an analytical frame. In each section this frame is set out in different ways so as to reflect the range of perspectives on neoliberalism discussed at the end of Chapter 1 (1.3). The discussion begins with a broad focus on the Coalition’s Big Society and the ways it circumscribes state-civil society relations. In this first section the use of neoliberalism is consistent with political-economy-orientated structural perspectives where the state and its practices – or “apparatuses” – function as instrumental mechanisms through which economic, political and social life is (re-)orientated to the goals of private capital and “the free Market” (Gills 2000; Richardson 2005). As an analytical frame, neoliberalism conceived in this way sees the state and its policies as a central focus, and the changes it makes as structural in order. At its narrowest, commentary from this perspective makes little or no distinction from liberal *laissez faire* economic theory; centring on privatisation and a self-correcting Market. Neoliberalism in this sense is widely

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<sup>1</sup> Currently the ICS programme offers placements in 26 countries.



characterised as the “rolling back” of the state (Peck and Tickell 2002). While retaining an element of this interpretation, the analysis in the first section follows recent work focussed on the “rolling out” phase of neoliberal governance, the *creative* process where ‘new forms of institution-building and governmental intervention have been licensed within the (broadly defined) neoliberal project’ (ibid. 389; 1.3). Here, analysis involves attending to the ways that the “withdrawn” state does not leave ‘fresh air and free markets’ but ‘*reorganised* state apparatus’ (Peck 2001, 447, original emphasis) that works to normalise a neoliberal “settlement”.

The second and main focus of the chapter centres on the ways that the ICS vision of global citizenship is tied into rationalities of neoliberalism. Analysis here remains focussed on what it is that the state “rolls out” but turns to post-structuralist perspectives to sense the diffusion of ‘systems of meaning’ that perceptibly constitute social interaction, practices and aspiration (Larner 2000). This part of the analysis takes two connected steps, first, as described in Chapter 1 (1.3), it draws out the ways that rationalities work through ICS and its promotion of global citizenship. The second seeks to get at the “messy actualities” (ibid.) of such rationalities, focussing on the (not always distinguishable) interface between govern-mental discourses and social life. At this point of the discussion the sense that neoliberal rationalities demonstrate a keen reflexivity comes to the fore in the ways that they appeal to – and even co-opt – a broad range of sometimes contradictory positions that all types of global citizens might wish to “buy into” (Bondi 2005). The chapter closes with a short reflection on the research performance of this analysis in lieu of a longer problematisation in Chapter 5.

### **3.1 Introduction: the Big Society agenda and the “rolling out” of International Citizen Service**

The Conservative Party’s Big Society agenda is the latest social policy from the British state that attempts to manage state-civil society relations. Following the previous Government’s neo-communitarianism (Jessop 2005) and Third Way (Giddens 1998; Hay and Watson 1999), the Big Society arrived accompanied by an “emergency” Budget in June 2010 and a Comprehensive Spending Review four months later that brought cuts to public spending not previously seen in post-war Britain. For many this is no coincidence and the turn to civil society represents little more than a ‘smokescreen’ (Mycock and Tonge 2011) or ‘rhetorical cover’ (Corbett and Walker 2012) for an ideologically driven ‘triumph in articulating and updating the neoliberal settlement’ (Scott 2010, 132; see also: Smith 2010). Whether or not the Big Society represents a ‘triumph’ for neoliberalism, it is certainly easy

to be cynical about a policy agenda that attempts to mobilise communities whose libraries, Sure Starts and A&Es face cuts and closure. This raises questions to do with the apparent contradictions inherent to a social agenda that attempts to foment an ethos of “power to people” (below, 3.4.1) while taking place against a backdrop of reduced state provision. The lines between traditional Left and Right ideologies are, it appears, blurred.

While there is an emphasis in Big Society discourse on social solidarity and community action, for detractors this is no more than tokenistic and the Big Society forms part of a wider agenda that never veers far away from practices that have come to be associated with neoliberal governance. It betrays the current Government’s prejudice against a bureaucracy-heavy public sector and a preference for an inherently more efficient private sector - and the assumption that third sector organisations will fill gaps – thus aligning the Big Society agenda with some core qualities of neoliberalism (North 2011, 823-4). Indeed, if one of the defining aspects of neoliberalism is a preoccupation with a smaller state then the ‘Big Society not Big Government’ ethos would seem to suggest a social programme fit for a neoliberal-minded Government.

But Big Society is not simply a matter of rolling back the state according to a “neoliberal agenda” (Larner 2000); as the Prime Minister himself pointed out ‘just because big government has helped atomise our society, it doesn’t follow that smaller government would automatically bring us together again’ (Cameron 10 November 2009). The remedy, according to Cameron, is not the withdrawal of the state from social life, but rather it is to be ‘re-imagined’ in ‘a new role’:

the re-imagined state should not stop at creating opportunities for people to take control of their lives. It must actively help people take advantage of this new freedom. This means a new role for the state: actively helping to create the Big Society; directly agitating for, catalysing and galvanising social renewal. (ibid.)

This ‘social renewal’ is all but an organic process; as far as social policy is concerned, Cameron is unequivocal on the importance of the state in “remaking” society:

So yes, in the fight against poverty, inequality, social breakdown and injustice I do want to move from state action to social action. But I see a powerful role for government in helping to engineer that shift. Let me put it more plainly: we must use the state to remake society. (ibid.)

At least for the time being (until society is remade) the state is central to creating the conditions, for it then – one presumes - to be reduced in size. At hand, therefore, is a vision of the state being put to work quite hard with the prospect of it then taking the smaller form so closely associated with centre-right (neoliberal) political ideology. This

renewal, or remaking, then, demands critical attention in the context of what we understand as the creative processes of roll out neoliberalism.

With this in mind, attention falls on the way that the Big Society agenda is put into practice as a creative interaction with existing forms in the third sector. An important aspect of this is the ways that the state, in a move against New Labour's 'top-down bureaucracy', is positioned as empowering 'little platoons' of civil society to take on a more autonomous responsibility for public services (Conservative Party 2010; Corbett and Walker 2012, 490). Stripping away what are frequently characterised as the "reams of red tape" (for example: Pickles 2011) the entrance of Big Society into civil society involves 'opening up public services to new suppliers' such as 'existing social enterprises, charities and voluntary groups' (Conservative Party 2009). This is what we might consider the "roll back moment" – or more dramatically, the "destructive" moment – where the civil sphere is potentially to be subsumed by the economic sphere. The accompanying "roll out" – or "creative" – moment comes where the Big Society agenda tasks 'social enterprises, charities and voluntary groups' with 'improving accountability and value for money through techniques like payment-by-results, competitive tendering, publishing performance information, and giving people the opportunity to choose between competing providers' (Conservative Party 2009b). This now begins to give some substance to the analysis. Bringing this back to the idea of the roll out phase of neoliberalism, and recalling strategies that 'effectively lock in key structural features of the neoliberal 'settlement' (Peck 2001, 447), we immediately get a sense of how this state presence in civil society unfolds in a way that resonates with understandings of roll out neoliberalism as a 'hybridisation process between markets and societies,

## Making it happen

fig 3.1



**Diversity**  
Social mixing is one of the central aims of NCS, so providers will have to ensure that each programme they offer reflects a broad social make-up. Providers must also make every effort to include harder-to-reach groups, including disabled people, children in care, people with learning and behavioural difficulties and people who have been through the criminal justice system. We will explore the option of a payment premium for excluded groups to help incentivise mixing and cover the additional costs incurred. Providers will also be required to promote mixing of people from different parts of the country to help break down geographic barriers. One way in which this could be done is to bring teams from different parts of the country together at an outward bound centre in the Team Building Week.

**Partnership**  
We want NCS to enhance the capacity of the youth sector in Britain. Existing organisations will be encouraged to participate as delivery agents and will be given funding and contracts of a length that allows for long term investment, planning and relationship building. We will work to ensure that the mentors trained for NCS become a valuable new resource for the youth sector.

**Transparency**  
We will require every NCS provider to undertake formal assessment of the quality and impact of its programmes and we will arrange for these to be published online in an open and standardised format. We

**1. Implementation principles**

**Competition**  
From the outset, NCS was conceived as a new part of national life that would be backed and funded – but not run by – the state. It is a clear demonstration of our belief in social responsibility, not state control – and a key component of our plans to build a Big Society.

We do not believe that national or regional monopolies are likely to deliver high quality programmes and will therefore require that the commissioning arrangements we put in place for NCS will stimulate competition between different providers, old and new, large and small, charitable and private sector.

**Choice**  
While we want NCS to be a shared experience for every group of 16 year olds, we are determined that young people should be able to make a choice about which provider would best suit themselves, their classmates and their friends. It may not be possible to offer each young person an individual choice, but we will seek to develop a system which enables classes or year groups in a school to choose between a number of alternative providers.

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will also require providers to create and promote a website on which young people can publish reviews of different NCS providers and of the different aspects of the programme.

**Sponsorship**  
In line with our commitment to social responsibility, we will encourage young people and their schools to provide a small

contribution towards the cost of their summer NCS programme. This will encourage small scale community fundraising activities, involving parents, neighbours and local businesses.

NCS providers will also be encouraged to raise funds themselves, in addition to the funding they will receive from

government. These funds will be used by providers to enhance the quality of the NCS experience.

We will encourage the establishment of an independent and privately-run NCS Coalition – equivalent to the Scouts Association – which will stimulate and coordinate sponsorship for NCS on a national level.

wherein market competition and contractual obligations are “re-embedded” (Larner and Craig 2005, 403).

Such movement towards market logic in civil society, and the Big Society’s apparent trajectory towards concomitant values and processes, flags up the need to consider the presence and effect of this rolling out of fresh state apparatus. It is against this backdrop – one that tells us, or hints at, the (neoliberal) intentions of the Government – that International Citizen Service has been put into place. The discussion now moves on to flesh out the ways this model works through the implementation of the ICS programme.

### 3.1.1 International Citizen Service

This Big Society ‘flagship scheme’ has its genesis in a pre-election Green Paper for its domestic counterpart, *National Citizen Service: Time to Inspire Britain’s Youth* that aims to realise the Government’s vision of ‘the voluntary sector, statutory services, and the private sector all collaborating to deliver the programme’ (Conservative Party 2007). The Green Paper places emphasis on ‘diversity and choice’, ‘competition’, ‘partnership’, ‘transparency’, and ‘sponsorship’ (headings, fig 3.1) that come together in the implementation of National Citizen Service (NCS):

to be backed and funded – but not run by – the state. It is a clear demonstration of our belief in social responsibility, not state control [...] We will enable philanthropists and business to get involved in the sponsorship process as a demonstration of their commitment to building the Big Society. (Conservative Party 2009b)

ICS grows out of this model and was first set in place by DfID as a pilot in 2010 before receiving full funding in the first quarter of 2011. Following the ethos of the Big Society, DfID sought civil society or private operators to implement the programme and issued a tender in 2009. Its terms read:

The successful bidder will be required to present a competitive bid which comprises a fixed fund and a proposed incentivisation model. Payment against the incentivisation model will be awarded in years 2 and 3 on the successful delivery of outputs, to be measured against indicators as set out in the programme logical framework. The final decision with regard to the payments will be made by DfID. The programme will be subject to revision if performance varies from the milestones in the logical framework.

The provider is also encouraged to seek external sponsorship, both in cash and in kind from corporate partners to further fund the scheme and to encourage alumni to participate in running the scheme as a part of their return action and commitment to ongoing volunteering. (DfID 2009a)

Running through these excerpts, and the tender document as a whole, is an overtly economic vernacular of competition, incentives and value for money, tenets central to free

market discourse. The eventual winner of the tender was VSO, a development charity. This, despite there being only “one other serious contender”,<sup>2</sup> brought in large for-profit operators into the bidding process, thereby pushing VSO – again, a development charity – to compete with other organisations economically in, as is inevitable with a blind tender, a ‘race to the bottom’. The Department’s implementation of ICS, even at the early stage of the tender, seems to push – or ‘incentivise’ – organisations such as VSO into positions more naturally taken by commercial enterprises. This would suggest that the ICS programme fits wider trends in the volunteer sector where organisations, on finding themselves in such positions, come ‘under the same financial and management pressures that shape capitalist corporations’ (Turner 2001, 202). As a form of rolled out state, then, this process was creative of an ‘ambivalent place’ for third sector organisations involved in the bidding where they are ‘expected to behave in a more business-like fashion in the contract culture’ (Clarke 2004b, 32).

Once VSO was in place as the lead organisation, DfID invited expressions of interest from other organisations who would, alongside VSO, organise placements for ICS volunteers. In an interview with DfID’s director of ICS this process of procurement was described as the Department’s ‘main task’ in the organisation of ICS:

the main task was the procurement of the contracts ... it was kind of around getting the contracts in place and so we did the procurement exercise and so ... invitations to tender, get a terms of reference written up, develop a log frame - the whole works - and we had an open procurement where a number of organisations made expressions of interest so we had to assess them, invite them to tender ...

The specifics of this process are significant; the pilot had been funded by a DfID Accountable Grant in which the Department plays a hands-on role to ‘manage the budget a lot closer’, and is prepared to intervene to ensure projects do not run over budget. After the successful pilot this was changed to a DfID Contract based on outputs rather than financial accountability. The principal output stipulated in the contracts for each consortium member was a proportion of the total 7,000 volunteer placements over 3.5 years. The benefit for DfID is

doing a procurement exercise and running things via contracts generally *gives better value for money because you’re going to market so if we do a grant then kind of the market forces and the competition is really taken out of it* ... but whereas if we go to blind tender we don’t tell people how much other people are suggesting how much it’s going to cost so people try to trim as much as possible to be competitive so in that way we get value for money and in terms of management it works better, it puts the responsibility on them in terms of

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<sup>2</sup> It has been pointed out to me on a number of occasions that there was only “one other serious contender” for the head of the consortium, Raleigh International - though it was felt not to have enough experience in development work.

getting applicants, training ... more on the provider and so our administrative costs are lower ...

It is made explicit here that contracts offer more than grants in the economic terms valorised by DfID – to reiterate: ‘[this process] gives better value for money because you’re going to market so if we do a grant then the market forces and the competition is really taken out of it’. Hence the use of a blind tender for contracts - not grants - works as a strategy to save money as bidders ‘trim’ money from proposals and, as is pointed out, makes being competitive an existential condition for actors who want to enter this now market-shaped space. Within this market ‘the responsibility is on them [the consortium members]’ to manage applications, training and placements. Not only does this reduce administrative costs but the contract also enables DfID to insist on outputs that - if not achieved - mean financial shortcomings must be met by the provider:

ultimately, we now pay on a contract basis which is on the basis of an output so they’ll come to us and say well “we’ve delivered 2,500 places this year and therefore you get  $\chi$  amount of money”. They don’t have to tell us it cost this much to put people on a place, it cost this much to do this, they just say “2,000 went” [and we say] “here’s your contract and the output - among others - is that we expect 7,000 places” ... so if, you know, if it gets to the end of year two and they’re struggling then they have to work out how they are going to manage. (David, DfID Director of ICS)

In shifting risk, the Government’s position forces a consummate position whereby the charities and NGOs that enter the ICS consortium are afforded legitimacy only in the managerial “neoliberalese” (Davies 2005) so readily detectable in the role played by DfID in the procurement and implementation of the ICS contracts.

In critiquing these developments we should flag up the power embedded in the seeming neutrality of the accounting procedures put in place by DfID. Far from ‘mundane’, the ‘vocabulary of costs’ (Miller 2001) and the economic conditions it performs presents ‘powerful mechanisms for shaping social and economic life’ (Ilcan and Phillips 2010, 849). The role of DfID in the implementation of ICS is the embedding of a ‘universalising logic of cost calculation [and] legitimised by reference to the universality and superiority of the market as a decision-making mechanism’ (Clarke 2004b, 34). More succinctly: a Department of UK Government draws in development charities (VSO) and non-profit development agencies (Progressio, Restless Development) into marketised positions. This, John Clarke has argued, ‘aims to drive out or subordinate ‘ambiguous’ issues of values, orientations and other political choice-making criteria [...] [t]hat which cannot be financially represented (economically valorised) is ruled inappropriate’ (ibid., 35).

This gives cause to question – with reasonable cynicism – the ways that these requirements may conflict with the work of charities and NGOs in development. If, for VSO and the consortium, its work in development centres on notions of justice, inequality and solidarity, then it is conceivable that these ideals risk being undermined by the structuring of the programme around the logic of the market and its concomitant push to prioritise costs. While the data here does not offer definitive evidence of this, it does provide quite thought-provoking juxtapositions of the meeting of a civil society organisation concerned with justice and a Governmental Department concerned with costs. VSO's *People First* Strategy declares: 'we are one global network, unified behind a common goal: our vision is for a world without poverty. Our mission is to bring people together to fight poverty' (vso.org.uk). Part of the 'fight' is to 'reduce inequality' in a wider 'campaign for global justice' (ibid.). While it should be noted that the visions of greater equality and justice are left quite vague (campaign for/against what or whom?) there is still the sense that DfID's use of a tender is incongruous with VSO's mission, to recap: 'if we go to blind tender *we don't tell people how much other people are suggesting* how much it's going to cost so people try to trim as much as possible to be competitive so in that way we get value for money' (David, DfID). Within this reasoning there is a real sense that DfID "played off" competing organisations against one another. In an interview with VSO's head of ICS it became even clearer with whom it was set in competition:

do you get "good development impact" per pound? I think it's still a bit of a mirage really [but] the Government have been asking tough questions about "well you're charging us this much per person and a lot of these gap year agencies are delivering something that looks the same at a much lower cost". (Brian, VSO Director of ICS)

In the configuration of state-civil society relations this is a revealing (if not surprising) Government strategy. Along with the tender, the terms of the ICS contract and here the explicit comparison of a development charity with the sometimes unscrupulous practices of the gap year industry (VSO 2007), the ICS programme appears to impose conditions and expectations more closely associated with the economic than the civil sphere. If we broadly understand neoliberalisation melding of the market and policy, then these elements of the ICS programme would suggest it to be a markedly neoliberal mode of (re)structuring the shape of civil society actors such as VSO and the other consortium members.

There is cause, too, for wider concern that this is not a localised instance of neoliberalisation in civil society. The global civil society that ICS expressly wishes to build consists not only of the six British consortium members but also reaches out to in-country partners in the 26 countries covered by the programme. Given the number of projects, this

could mean more than 120 organisations across the South are engaged in partnerships with DfID via ICS. In India alone there are 15 organisations working as partners in the six states that host ICS projects. It serves at this point to recall the skewed geographies of global civil society in which Northern actors continue to dominate via, as Hagai Katz notes, ‘the same power disparities that characterise the capitalist world-system’ (2006, 345). DfID itself has been cited for its role in this imbalance via its choice of partnership organisations in the South. Pat Noxolo, most prominently, shows that despite a surface of mutuality in ‘development partnerships’ below this are ‘unequal relationships with Britain playing the ‘adult’ role of disciplinarian and provider to third world governments who seem to be children presenting potentially ‘challenging’ behaviour’ (2006, 260). According to Noxolo, this characterisation disguises Britain’s reliance on trade in developing areas and that it ‘cannot afford to be squeezed out of the third world’ (ibid.). Likewise, Matt Baillie Smith and Nina Laurie have commented that for DfID partnerships ‘the concept of mutuality is celebrated but rarely contextualised in terms of the unequal legacies of empire through which partnerships with the global South are forged’ (2011, 550).

The ICS programme would seem to represent a continuation of the dynamics identified by Noxolo and others. Each of the organisations – from grassroots collectives to large state-wide NGOs – are brought under the audit culture of DfID and its review process. In order to be valorised by DfID auditors – where valorisation means receiving funding for another ICS cycle – in-country partner organisations were required to focus on the ‘more important’ “soft” than “hard” characteristics:

the field visits showed that the “soft” characteristics of host organisations were more important to placement effectiveness than “hard” demographic characteristics such as the resources they had available or staff capacity (although a baseline “minimal” capacity also needed to be defined). (DfID 2011c)

“Hard” ‘resources’ such as equipment and accommodation and “hard” ‘demographic characteristics’ to do with ‘staff capacity’ – presumably training, engagement – were deemed of secondary importance to one “soft” characteristic in particular:

a commitment to the aims of ICS and the value of volunteering. (ibid.)

It is common sense that the partners be committed to the ‘aims of ICS’, each of them fitting their particular placement programmes according to an ICS template. But it is also true that the ICS template is not a neutral tool; with its markedly British development imaginary (below, 3.2.1), heavy emphasis on active citizenship (below, 3.3) and de-emphasis of political involvement (below, 3.2.1), ‘the aims of ICS’ cannot be separated from the



wider aims of the British Government. It is in its interests that the Big Society seeks to facilitate volunteering and active citizenship, thus the valorisation of Southern ICS partners (partly, but significantly) in these terms recalls criticism of uneven relationships and brings the uncomfortable prospect of Britain using the South to realise domestic policy goals.

The ways that partnerships form on ICS is a seemingly more innocent process. Each of the in-country partners I spoke to had links with the British partner that predate ICS, indicating that their dynamics - most probably - are not formed in the DfID mode of paternalism described by Noxolo and others (see also OECD 1996; McGrath 2002; Baaz 2005). Nonetheless, on the occasions that I was able to speak to organisations about partners there was quite clear evidence of power differentials existing between ICS consortium members and in-country partners. For instance, Raleigh International in the south of India runs six ICS projects (this number was due to double in the 2013/2014 cycle) with two different NGOs, MYRADA (Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency) in Tamil Nadu and MYKAPS (MYRADA Kaveri Pradeshika Samsthein) in Karnataka.<sup>3</sup> On these long-standing partnerships, Raleigh's Country Director was clear about the relationship between the respective organisations:

because we're the funders we take the lead and certainly from the meeting yesterday [about the increase in ICS projects] I get the feeling that it's, you know, Raleigh does lead on this because they're MYKAPS and MYRADA, they depend on funding to be able to operate so I think it's ... we certainly take the lead but we'll quite happily take their knowledge and experience and utilise that. (Mark, Raleigh International)

While without more information it is not possible to understand how this arrangement works in practice, what seems clear is a structural difference between the organisations that is predicated on funding. And, tellingly, funding trumps 'knowledge and experience' in determining who leads whom in the partnership. There is a similar dynamic to a partnership VSO has with one of its ICS in-country partners, Swechha in New Delhi. Swechha, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 2 (2.7.2.1), is an organisation focussed primarily on environmental issues such as the state of Delhi's heavily polluted Yamuna river. It encourages active citizenship through activities on and around the river, advocacy to policy makers and, in the words of its founder, Vimlendu: 'the necessary activism' (Interview, New Delhi). Purba, the programme co-ordinator for VSO explains that this sometimes does not fit the 'ICS template':

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<sup>3</sup> MYKAPS is an independent organisation that was part of MYRADA, they 'continue to share a common vision and goals' <http://mykaps.000space.com/index.php/what-is-mykaps/history.html>

some of the disadvantages with Swechha are that they are not that development focussed, you know, their engagement is at a very top level [advocacy, activism] and also that the groups that they engage with are not necessarily the marginalised groups. (Purba, VSO)

And that VSO communicates to its partner a desire for it to adjust – slightly – its focus:

... so with Swechha we *constantly push* for the development focus you know in whatever they're doing to push for a little more depth in you know whatever interventions they're engaging their volunteers in ... with Swechha we have to, I mean we work with them constantly to *drive* that point.

In this example there seems to be a divergence on what is acceptable as 'development'; for Swechha it involves lobbying policy makers and protesting inefficient law enforcement. This, it can be read from these interviews, is not actually a 'development focus' in the eyes of VSO who 'constantly push' or 'drive' Swechha to refocus on marginalised groups. As a consequence the Swechha ICS placement is now based in a slum community in the South of the city and geared towards encouraging active citizenship in the area's young people.

I do not claim nor believe that there is any ill intent in these arrangements, but it is difficult not to take away the impression that the flow of funding has some bearing on the operations of some of the in-country partners. To fully make this claim, however, would need more data across more organisations and countries. At the same time it must also be flagged up that the effect, even where it is seemingly small such as in these examples, may stretch across a significant chunk of global civil society given that the programme involves a (loose) network of around 120 organisations. There comes then the prospect of neoliberalising elements of policy taking hold in the more remote parts of global civil society, a long way from DfID in London. In the case of MYRADA and MYKAPS their knowledge and expertise, while clearly recognised, is subordinate to funders when it comes to leading projects. These independent NGOs from the rural South of India become accountable to a British Development Trust, Raleigh International, which is in turn answerable to VSO and the strict terms of the contract it entered into with DfID. For Swechha, part of its founding energy 'to change mindsets, ignite sparks' as a 'student volunteer activist group' (swechha.in) seems to have been reined in somewhat by a different form of development *pushed/driven* by its funding partner, VSO. VSO's contract with DfID mentions nothing of the environmental health of the Yamuna (and the millions of people who live on it) but it does stipulate the output of 'active citizens' and, while the two are not mutually exclusive, there is little wonder that the British partner organisations emphasise the fulfilment of the terms of the contract over the pre-existing concerns of in-country partners.

At this point a picture begins to emerge of the ways that DfID - via ICS and its network of partners, the dynamics of the partnerships and DfID's subjecting them to audit and evaluation – 'builds global civil society': it does so on its terms. And as we see in the implementation of the programme through the process of tender, its terms are difficult to separate from the practices of the roll out phase of neoliberalism. Organisations – development charities and NGOs – are asked to operate in market conditions created by a Ministerial Department. These conditions impose value systems associated with and constitutive of the Market such that competition, value for money and auditing become higher priorities. Such fiscal pressures, though the evidence here is highly localised, play out on the ground, too, where organisations keenly retain control of projects purely on the basis that it is the funder; local know-how comes second. The connection should be made also (though loosely) that such organisations are keen (or more likely think it "common sense") to retain control because the risk is theirs. As is indicated in the small number of cases here this arrangement sets *some* limits on *some* activity in grassroots partners by aligning a part of their operations with the aims of British Government policy. Referring back to the literatures reviewed in Chapter 1 and the neoliberalising presences of states involving the 'taming' of social movements and the disabling of 'undesirable programmes' (Chandhoke 2002; Munck 2002; Kaldor 2003; Lipschultz 2005; 1.2), this aspect of ICS makes it a programme that potentially adds to such presences.

Clear, then, is an image of a remaking of a small part of civil society through the implementation of the ICS programme. So far the analysis has focussed on the structural elements of neoliberalism and only touched on the rationalities that pass through neoliberal forms (for example in the suggestion that 'value for money' becomes a normalised rationality that becomes entrenched in discursive constructions). The state's role comes in providing funding and setting terms that carry permutations into remote (from London) areas of global civil society. There is obviously scope for a large amount of further research in this area: the discussion here only gets at a small part of what could be a rich account of power flows across global civil society. Important for this study is the detection of neoliberalising strategies used by the state and their presence on the ICS programme. Moving the analysis along from these structural elements, the following section draws on post-structural perspectives on neoliberalism to analyse global citizenship on ICS that, I argue, is a case of attempted subject making through the normalisation of neoliberal rationalities of governance.

### 3.2 Global Citizenship on the ICS programme

DfID has an interesting recent history of promoting global citizenship. Through initiatives such as Global School Partnerships (Sizmur et al. 2011), smaller-scale ICS predecessors such as Platform2 and Global XChange (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Diprose 2012) and more culturally orientated involvement in events like Live8 and ‘Make Poverty History’ (Biccum 2005; 2007), global citizenship is prefigured as an important element of DfID’s ‘Building Support for Development’ strategy (DfID 1999). Though definitions have changed over the years, a constant feature has been that global citizens become knowledgeable about international development “issues” and responsible for their decisions that may have consequential effects in poorer countries, both positive and negative. In this way DfID’s promotion of global citizenship rests on a construction of development, the South and people’s responsibilities as scaled-up citizens of a community that now includes “the developing South”. This has invited critical attention focussed on how DfID’s version of global citizenship produces knowledge on development, Britain’s role in development work and citizens’ concomitant personal involvement in reducing poverty. Much of this attention has been critical of DfID’s construction of global citizenship in ways that over emphasises (volunteers’ in this case) ‘neoliberalising’ personal development (Diprose 2012) and/or advocates for a ‘neoliberalised version of development’ (Biccum 2005; 2007; 1.1). ICS delivers DfID’s latest iteration of global citizenship.

ICS has three main objectives: ‘improved development outcomes in developing countries’; ‘[improved] personal and social development of volunteers’ and the ‘creation of advocates for international development and agents for social change across the UK and beyond (“global citizenship”)’ (DfID 2012b). These are not mutually exclusive objectives and in fact, as will become clear in this part of the chapter, a large part of the training and structure of the placements is orientated around global citizenship, with the goals of both improved ‘development outcomes’ and ‘personal development’ couched in the process of becoming a global citizen and the resulting responsibilities to poorer (or “developing”) people and places in the South. Thus the ICS programme produces certain knowledges on development and individuals’ role in development. Seen through a post-structural lens on neoliberalism these can be read as normalising rationalities whose Truths work discursively to produce global citizens. The following discussion uses this analytical frame and is divided into these two related categories. The first part focuses on the ‘global’ element of global citizenship; how the Government and DfID construct the world for ICS volunteers

through a particular development imaginary. The second part of the analysis focuses on the ‘citizen’ element of global citizenship; how the Government and DfID construct ideas of the self for ICS volunteers through a particular notion of subjectivity.

### 3.2.1 The Coalition, development and the ‘global’ of global citizenship

Literature on neoliberal practices in international development in general (Escobar 1995; Stiglitz 2002; Kothari 2005, amongst many others) and Britain’s role in particular (Biccum 2005; 2007; Noxolo 2006) provides a robust critique of Northern presences in the South and the ways in which they are inflected by neocolonial projections of neoliberal governance. The arguments are by now well rehearsed and draw on recurrent and overlapping themes from fields as diverse as economics (Goldsmith 1993; Stiglitz 2002), postcolonialism (Esteva 1992; Escobar 1995), history (Sachs 1992) and geography (Sylvester 1999; Hart 2001; Sumner 2006). The critical thrust of such work puts a convincing case for development to be a westerncentric project that is less concerned with reducing poverty than with exporting liberal democracy and liberalising economies. At the sharp end of the criticism of development it is argued that this ‘western project’ is a form of ‘economic colonialism’ (Goldsmith 1993) that equates development with westernisation, fails to tackle issues on the ground (Chambers 2005) and is by some measures a ‘complete failure’ (Ovaska 2003). Put together, these perspectives offer a solid critique of economically motivated Northern presences in the South.

Such criticism focuses on *Development* as discursive and the way that it writes history (see also 6.1). Proponents of this position track a meta-narrative that begins at Bretton Woods in 1944<sup>4</sup> and carries significant rhetorical weight as it brings, Uma Kothari points out, ‘a concealment of the colonial past’ in a ploy to ‘avoid tarnishing what is presented as a humanitarian project far removed from the supposed exploitation of the colonial era’ (2005, 53). This ahistoricity ‘obscures the political realities of the development industry’ and, Kothari argues, is ‘a neo-colonial project that reproduces global inequalities and maintains the dominance of the South, through global capitalist expansion, by the North’ (ibid., 3). Kothari’s critique pulls no punches - but lacks no support (for example, Ferguson 1990; Esteva 1992; Sachs 1992; Escobar 1995; Tsing 2005) - and forms part of an important conceptualisation of development that found collective voice in the 1990s and very firmly located *Development* within the global proliferation of neoliberal practices of governance. Through these literatures, ‘development on neoliberal terms’ has come to be

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<sup>4</sup> The 1944 Bretton Woods Conference established the International Finance Institutions (IFIs) we know today as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). For more see 6.1.

understood as a primarily Northern-centric practice in the poor South that is i) ahistorical; ii) depoliticised; iii) driven by the Market and its logic and iv) predicated on western forms of knowledge.

Allowing this critique of neoliberal development to inform inquiry begins to draw out the ways that each of these themes plays important rhetorical roles in British Government discourse on development. Here is an extended extract from an article written by Prime Minister David Cameron for *The Guardian* in which he presents his justification for the increase in funding for DfID:<sup>5</sup>

At a time when we are making spending cuts at home, our decision to protect our aid budget abroad is a controversial one. But I am convinced it is right for two reasons.

First, a moral reason. In the time it takes to read this article, 15 children in the world's poorest countries will die from a preventable disease like diarrhoea or pneumonia. We would not stand for that at home. And we should not stand for it anywhere, especially as *Britain has the tools, the expertise, and yes, the money, to stop it happening.*

I don't believe it would be right to ignore the difference we can make, turn inwards solely to our own problems and effectively balance our books while breaking our promises to the world's poorest. Instead, we should step up, *deliver on our promises* to the world's poorest and help save millions of lives. In four years' time, because of the decisions we have taken and the responsibilities we have assumed, we will not just have paid down the deficit. We will also have vaccinated more of the world's poorest children than there are people in the whole of England. I think everyone should be proud of that.

Second, a hard-headed reason. Meeting our international aid commitments is profoundly in our own national interest. *If we invest in countries before they become broken, we might not end up spending so much on the problems that result. If we had put a fraction of our current military spending on Afghanistan into helping Afghanistan develop 20 years ago, just think what we might have been able to avoid over the past decade.*

So it is in our national interest not just to deal with the symptoms of conflict when they arise, but also to prevent that conflict by addressing the underlying causes – poverty, disease and lack of opportunity. This is where our aid programme comes in. By investing in education abroad, we can give young people different choices and chances in life. By helping countries develop economically and politically, we reduce the pressures that lead to instability, and *build new markets for trade and growth [...]*

The answer is to do development differently: to introduce *proper transparency and accountability* into how aid money is spent. And without being hard-headed, to be hard-headed about what aid can achieve, really focussed on the things that *are measurable, verifiable and results driven.* That is what we are doing [...]

---

<sup>5</sup> In the 2010 Spending Review it was announced, amid cuts to many other Departments, that by 2015 funding for the Department for International Development will have increased from £7.8bn to £11.5bn, a rise of almost 50%.

The British people are not prone to self-aggrandising. But I think there are times when we should acknowledge the good that we do. Britain is keeping its promises, protecting its aid budget [...] That says something about this country. And it is something we should be proud of. (Cameron 2011, my emphasis)

There are a number of themes here contiguous of existing critiques of Britain's role in development. Cameron's positioning of Britain as the developer with 'tools and expertise' and a carrier of a moral obligation to act in an increasingly interdependent world positions Britain as the benevolent actor and touches on the point made by Noxolo that expressions of interconnectedness occlude Britain's heavy economic reliance on the South. Figuring this interconnectedness as an 'obligation to the poor' represents a significant rhetorical move by the Prime Minister: 'ultimately the "duty to assist" erases the interdependence of wealth and poverty historically, and puts the entire control over redistribution in the hands of the rich by leaving it as nothing more than a moral duty of charity to the poor' (Arneil 2007, 313). It is difficult to overstate the significance of the reformulation of geopolitical and historical inequalities and injustices as an issue of moral choice whose terms are dictated by notions of giving and helping. Presenting this moral choice serves to sweep away well documented reasons for low levels of development such as continued economic dependency and advantageous positions as a legacy of empire. In fact, Cameron's ahistoricity here is not too difficult to pick apart; to blame conflict in Afghanistan on some kind of naturally occurring poverty is, frankly, risible. No mention of Cold War intervention, nor colonial subjugation; this is quite patently a revisionist version of current developmental realities and is an illustrative example of the ways in which low levels of development do not come out of some kind of spontaneous, self-generating poverty. There are significant geopolitical issues that Cameron leaves completely unacknowledged.

Cameron's poverty here, and in wider Government discourse, is first "organic", an 'uncanny existence' (Biccum 2005, 1017) that arises seemingly out of nowhere without historical nor geopolitical context and, second, is temporally arranged as a cause of geopolitical unrest, rather than, say, as an end of global dependency or (neo)colonialism. In this light Cameron's Afghanistan is nothing short of bizarre; the war was caused by an uncomfortably indigenous strain of poverty and development is a future project that begins now, despite decades of western presences in the country. This chimes with the temporality of development discourse in general in which poverty eradication is presented as a deferred promise, continually in future tenses that perpetuate *ad infinitum* the position of helper/giver and the need of the South; time figures only as future; good intentions; development; destinies; advancement; 'improving the world', and refuses to look back to

the colonial past (Karagiannis 2004). More, in the idea of development, responsibility or solidarity is presented as a “given” - a no-brainer that can only result in the paternalistic position of the British state in relation to the needs of developing states. This is an intensely depoliticised representation of development that, in sweeping aside historical and contemporary cleavages (in which Britain is implicated), leaves only the “neutral” and always-fair solution of economic liberalisation. As a discursive move the knowledge produced is strategic and wholly worth extricating. In the first step we have erasure of western (Britain very much included) colonial, military (pre- and post-war) and political interference in an area of the South, and, because of this erasure, Cameron, washed of responsibility, is able to slip into the neutral vernacular of business and free markets. The obfuscation is of course that there is no neutrality to “free” markets with countries such as the UK enjoying considerable structural advantages over industrialising states such as Afghanistan.

At this stage the analysis begins to make a passage to a post-structural perspective on neoliberalism as a form of discourse that circulates through society as knowledge whose power is obfuscated by its seeming banality. “Economic growth is the answer” - always in a “free” market - is a recurrent exemplar of such discursive configurations of development solutions; it justifies the entry of poor states into a grossly imbalanced global economy and, more, is articulated by a specific rationality that delimits the conditions of growth. This rationality is evident in Cameron’s emphasis on ‘proper transparency and accountability’ and insistence that ‘things that are measurable, verifiable and results driven’; the Prime Minister’s words are pushed along by the qualities of managerialism and professionalism and the related quantitative value systems of accountancy and auditing. These are, development scholars have pointed out, recognisable ‘Western neoliberal ideals’ that work through contemporary neoliberalised development imaginaries (Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2011). Cameron’s words then, draw from and add to a wider discourse on development that functions to ‘dictate and marginalise non-Western knowledge systems’ (Escobar 1995, 13), that in the past has paved the way for the imposition of, for example, the now notorious Structural Adjustment Programmes (for compelling, if partisan accounts see Stiglitz 2002; Klein 2007). Cameron’s words are just a small contribution to this, but they are nonetheless tied into a making of the world and, specifically, North-South relations that, in turn, ties into neoliberalising processes in international development.



This vision of development is seamlessly incorporated into the development imaginary of ICS. On the programme's official launch a press release offered this from the then Secretary of State for International Development Andrew Mitchell:

This is an important opportunity for young people not only to broaden their own horizons but also to have a life-changing impact on others. These volunteers will learn firsthand about the challenges faced by very poor communities in developing countries, and how their lives can be improved. By making this contribution these volunteers will show what a difference one person can make in the world. I'm sure they will return from their experiences full of enthusiasm for helping others, and with an understanding and appreciation of the results development can bring. (DfID 2011a)

At this formative stage of the programme, already many of its prominent themes begin to come through. The Secretary of State presents a narrative of volunteering as a means to self-advancement and uncomfortably conveys a dichotomy of British volunteers as "life changers" and Others as literally 'others', representing a continuation of the giver-receiver dichotomy flagged up by important critiques of development discourse. Connected to this, and as alarming, is the idea that (formally) untrained British volunteers are capable of changing lives through 'enthusiasm' and 'hard work': this against the too-often serious realities of low level development. Tackling poverty with what amounts to 'rolled-up sleeves' has become a familiar vernacular of volunteering that 'offers a highly simplistic understanding of development, one in which enthusiasm and good intentions are allowed to prevail' (Simpson 2005, 683).

These themes play a prominent role in the ways that international volunteering for development and global citizenship are imagined by the ICS programme. A composite of ICS marketing and training material is presented in fig 3.2. If we remind ourselves of the four aspects of neoliberal development distilled above - i) ahistorical; ii) depoliticised; iii) shaped by market logic; and iv) predicated on a western forms of knowledge - there is much to critique here. Underpinning the performances of development by both the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State is, not surprisingly, reference to DfID whose work is orientated around 'honouring the UK's international commitments and taking action to achieve the Millennium Development Goals [MDGs]'. While this is hardly unexpected, given DfID's role in the programme, it should not be overlooked that the MDGs are subject to convincing critiques that read them as a product and producer of neoliberal rationalities. For instance Suzan Ilcan and Lynne Phillips read the MDGs as 'a project with global pretensions that engages in the language of targets, best practices, and costs, encourages certain individuals, groups and places to reinvent themselves, and demands the need for better tools to "track progress"' (2010, 849). Drawing on Foucault's notion of

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Working with: VSO

**Q. Why has the government created this scheme?**  
The Government is passionate about the potential of young people coming together to make a real difference to the world and help build a bigger and stronger global society.

ICS has been designed to channel the skills, enthusiasm and energy of young volunteers to make a meaningful contribution to a range of development projects and offer a life changing experience for young people from the UK to improve the lives of some of the world's poorest people.

By living and working in very poor communities, young volunteers will be able to learn firsthand about the challenges of global poverty and how it can be addressed, including how they can themselves have a role in this throughout their lives as active and well informed global citizens. They will also learn new skills, like leadership, communications skills and project planning, which will contribute to their own personal and social development.

As an ICS volunteer you could, for example:

- help people have access to better **healthcare**
- widen opportunities for people who lack formal **education**
- increase the number of people who stay safe from **HIV and AIDS**
- raise awareness of **climate change**
- work with farmers on **sustainable development**
- train young people to use **IT** and other **media**
- use **sport** and other activities to build **life skills**.

**3. Project impact**

"Every ICS placement will aim to achieve a clear development impact"

fig 3.2

## DFID

The Department for International Development (DFID) leads the UK's work to end extreme poverty. DFID is ending the need for aid by creating jobs, unlocking the potential of girls and women and helping to save lives when humanitarian emergencies hit.

ICS represents a significant investment by the UK government in young people. DFID has chosen to fund ICS because it believes in the power of young people to bring about positive change in some of the poorest communities around the world, and that by creating 14,000 active citizens we can shape the future for the better. ICS supports DFID's strategic objectives; you can find out more about their goals and priorities below or by visiting [DFID's website](#).



DFID is responsible for:

- honouring the UK's international commitments and taking action to achieve the Millennium Development Goals
- making British aid more effective by improving transparency, openness and value for money
- targeting British international development policy on economic growth and wealth creation
- improving the coherence and performance of British international development policy in fragile and conflict-affected countries
- improving the lives of girls and women through better education and a greater choice on family planning
- preventing violence against girls and women in the developing world
- helping to prevent climate change and encouraging adaptation and low-carbon growth in developing countries

'governmentality' (Foucault 2006), Ilcan and Phillips track this language as discursive 'developmentalities' that 'rely on three forms of neoliberal rationalities of government: information profiling, responsibilisation and knowledge networks' (2010, 845). Elsewhere, and in the same vein, the MDGs are criticised as marginalising 'bottom-up [...] existing anti-poverty, global justice movements' (Bond 2006, 352) in order to 'maintain the neoliberal economic strategy intact' (Fukuda-Parr 2010, 33) to 'further push the UN development agenda and policy instruments into close convergence with the neoliberal prescriptions' (Saith 2006, 1171; see also Sachs 2005; Aderinoye 2008; Spencer et al. 2008).

This might seem a debate remote from ICS but if we momentarily assume the position of an ICS volunteer seeking to find out more about development, the information provided and linked to by DFID in the first place rests on DFID's 'transparency', 'performance', 'economic growth and wealth creation' ([dfid.gov.uk](#)), and second directs volunteers to the MDGs with, not without exception of course, their close association with neoliberalising rationalities. In short, all roads lead back to a specifically neoliberal version of development.

Beyond this, volunteers are offered a performance of volunteering and global citizenship that is very firmly rooted in the same development imaginary. Volunteers are

called on to bring ‘enthusiasm’ and ‘energies’ to make ‘a direct impact on poorer communities’:

#### How do developing countries benefit?

ICS brings the skills, enthusiasm and energy of young volunteers to development projects who have actively asked for help. Local volunteers work alongside ICS volunteers, exchanging ideas and collaborating on finding effective solutions to real-life problems. This means that progress is focused and sustainable.

<http://www.volunteerrice.org/about-programme->

#### How long is the placement?

As an ICS volunteer you will spend a life-changing **10-12 weeks** working directly in communities alongside local volunteers. Projects are specifically chosen to ensure that the energies and skills young people bring can make a direct impact on some of the World's poorest communities. When your work placement is finished, ICS will help you to use your experience to make a positive difference at home. ICS also recruit a small number of team leaders, who must be over 23 years of age. Team Leaders must be able to commit to a minimum of **6 months** abroad.

<https://www.facebook.com/ics/info>

A potent rhetorical move here - and in Mitchell's and Cameron's words above - is the euphemistic reconfiguring of development issues – lack of potable water, uneven access to education, malnutrition, disease - as ‘challenges’ and ‘issues’, typical of a development imaginary that rests on ‘increasingly flowery language despite evidence of ever-grittier realities’ (Hintjens 1999, 383). This is complemented by frequent characterisation of the poor as ‘less fortunate’ (right, fig 3.3), implying some kind of ‘lotto logic’ to global inequalities where ‘living conditions and life are products of a randomised process of luck’ where ‘wealth and poverty are not part of the same process, but attributed independently of one another’ (Simpson 2005, 689; Quinby 2002). Add also the reference to - but no reflection on - ‘fragile and conflict-afflicted states’ and a clear sense of the ways that fragility and unrest come to define the South in a way that refuses to acknowledge their intimate ties with the inequalities that are entrenched in the neoliberal ordering of global (inter)dependence.

“Volunteering overseas showed me how people who are less fortunate live and opened my eyes to the challenges they face. The confidence I gained from my experience has helped me in my career and in my life generally”

**Bryony Meteyard**, former volunteer in South Africa (aged 21 at time of volunteering)

fig 3.3

Evident through the programme, then, is a detached vernacular of development that is consonant with the neoliberalism that pushes through the development imaginaries projected by senior Government figures which are, in turn, derivative of global-scale neoliberal practices promoted by DfID and the many other agencies that work to the letter of the MDGs. This contributes to the making of the “global” of global citizenship one that forecloses critical reflection on both the historical and contemporary geopolitical realities that have helped to create and sustain uneven levels of development. Once these potentially uncomfortable realities are excluded, the global space ICS volunteers are presented with is one of euphemistic ‘challenges’ that rise out of the organic whims of ‘fortune’ where political and economic action is limited to vague notions of ‘advocacy’ and ‘growth’ in strictly apolitical terms. These imaginaries function discursively, ‘fixing the norms’ (Foucault

1977, 23) and effectively foreclosing – or ‘subjugating’ – alternative perspectives, an understanding of which draws out the ways in which this discursive construction is ‘tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions’ (Fairclough 2003, 124).

Taking this back to the work reviewed in Chapter 1, it is worth recalling Freire’s emphasis on critical reflection and transformation of the world and that ‘education is never neutral’ but instead functions with an ‘instrumental or an emancipatory purpose’ (Freire 1970; Hanson 2010, 74-77). Richard Shaull, in the introduction to the thirtieth edition of Freire’s seminal text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) provides a synthesis of Freire’s critical viewpoint on pedagogy:

[t]here is no such thing as a neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the “practice of freedom”, the means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Shaull in Freire 2005, 34)

From this pedagogical perspective, global citizenship on the ICS programme clearly does little to foment critical thinking; it is tacitly engaged in the ‘reproduction of the status quo’ rather than ‘encourag[ing] the question, challenging, and ultimately, the transformation of it’ (Hanson 2010, 76). The result is, again returning to the terms of analysis identified in the first Chapter, a distinctly “soft” version of global citizenship that disguises – and therefore may work to perpetuate – ‘asymmetrical globalisation [and] unequal power relations’ (Andreotti 2006, 45).

### 3.3 Neoliberal ideals of the self in global citizenship

In the absence of a critical understanding of the community where global citizenship is to take place, and evident in the examples above, a more prominent narrative of the self begins to come through. Having considered the construction of development on ICS, the discussion now moves on to consider the ways that the ‘self’ is articulated through the programme’s construction of global citizenship.

Along with ‘helping fight poverty’, part of global citizenship on the ICS programme involves volunteers focussing on their own ‘personal and social development’. As a way to facilitate this, ICS presents a narrative of the self that centres on a very strong image of global citizens as individuals:

**International Citizen Service (ICS)**  
 "Whatever you can do, or dream you can do, begin it. Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it. Begin it now!"  
<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/features/making-a-world-of-difference-with-international-voluntary-work-1-2453655>  
 Visualizza traduzione

**Making a world of difference with international voluntary work - Features - Scotsman.com**  
[www.scotsman.com](http://www.scotsman.com)  
 Travel broadens the mind and young Scots are taking up the opportunity to find out how with international volunteer

**DFID and ICS**  
 The International Citizen Service (ICS) is a global volunteering experience which supports young people from all backgrounds to make a real difference to some of the world's poorest people.

**"When people say 'It's a life-changing experience', it definitely is."**  
 ICS volunteer, South Africa

**"Definitely do it! It's a once in a lifetime opportunity."**  
 ICS volunteer, Bolivia

**Working as a volunteer in Ethiopia was a truly life-changing experience for me, as I learnt valuable new skills and found out what it means to be an active global citizen**  
 Oliver Squire  
 ICS volunteer

**"I learned a great deal from this programme, developing my personal confidence and belief in my ability to make a difference to people."**  
 Claire Griffiths, Milton Keynes  
 Burkina Faso

**"The ICS experience has been transformative and has informed so much of what I have been able to do since."**  
 Tom Stevenette, Swindon  
 Volunteered in Burkina Faso

• Do you want to make a real difference in some of the world's poorest communities?

**More info**

fig 3.4

The emphasis here on making a (world of) difference and changing lives construct volunteering and global citizenship in ways close to those highlighted by quite a number of studies on international volunteering discussed in Chapter 1 where an (over)emphasis on western volunteers' difference-making capabilities presents an uncomfortable evocation of ideas of civilising missions in the South (1.1.1). This, though not nearly as emphatic as colonial era expressions of superiority, is exacerbated by the fact that these volunteers lack formal training and have little or no firsthand knowledge of working in development. It seems aggrandising, then, to bestow on these 18-25 year-olds such a potential to effect change.

Real emphasis, however, is reserved for the wide range of skills offered by participation on ICS that promise (repeatedly) to 'kick start your career':

**Specifically young people can expect to:**

- Grow in confidence
- Become more independent and resilient
- Become more self motivated
- Develop their team working skills
- Develop their communication skills
- Learn how to work to deadlines
- Develop their planning and project management skills
- Learn new problem solving skills and how to overcome obstacles
- Develop leadership skills
- Learn budgeting skills
- Have a better understanding of the global issues affecting people and communities
- Broaden their horizons and gain new perspectives on things
- Learn about other cultures and ways of life

**This month's news...**

**Kick start your career...**

Has your ICS placement inspired you to pursue a career in international development? Here's how one former VSO volunteer found his dream career..  
[more](#)

**When I got back one of the most common questions people ask is 'what did you achieve, what skills have you gained?' to answer this there is a never ending list like: team work, building relationships, maintaining professional relationships, money management, organisation, motivation and so, so much more! But the main one is the amazing feeling of success and making that small difference to maybe just one life.**

**If I was aiming to convince someone to take part in ICS I would say that the ICS experience is a once in a lifetime opportunity!"**  
 Danny Fairclough (From Runcorn to South Africa)

**"The ICS placement has allowed me to develop professional skills in research, project management and facilitation."**  
 ICS volunteer, Sierra Leone

ICS has come at a good time for young people. You gain skills that can help you develop as a person and in your career.  
 Hannah Howard, volunteered in Nicaragua

fig 3.5



This promise is accompanied and reinforced by bitesize testimonies from ICS volunteers whose voices reiterate the career advantages: ‘the ICS placement has allowed me to develop professional skills in research, project management and facilitations’. Such emphasis on self-advancement draws comparisons with a by now familiar subject-making tactic of neoliberal governance where subjects are treated as ‘entrepreneurs of themselves’ or ‘investors in themselves, as human capital that wishes to appreciate and to value itself and thus allocate its skills accordingly’ (Feher 2009, 30-31). That the ICS programme promises much in terms of CV-building encourages potential volunteers to optimise individual choices ‘and to perceive the world in terms of competition’ (Hilgers 2012, 82). It should too be noted that these learning outcomes relate to quite specific skill sets – ‘technical’, ‘professional’ and ‘project management’ skills - that seem applicable to certain types of service-based work. Volunteers are therefore asked to see themselves as aspiring to attain these skills while already possessing (presumably) the potential skills needed for difference-making. Volunteer skills, and by extension volunteers themselves, in this way are aligned with the needs of competing in the contemporary service sector employment market (while simultaneously given the impression that enthusiasm and hard work can alleviate poverty). Global citizenship at this point becomes a responsibility to oneself as volunteers are invited to pursue their own career-orientated identity-building projects within the circumscribed conditions set out on ICS.



ICS Entrepreneur

fig 3.6

This aspect of ICS is pushed further in a recent extension to the programme called ‘ICS Entrepreneur’ (image, fig 3.6). Introduced in late March 2014, ICS Entrepreneur takes the themes identified in this part of the analysis to wholly different levels. For 400 of the 7,000 volunteers the opportunity will be offered to take up a specially designed placement in ‘start up enterprises and companies in fast growing economies’ where

[v]olunteers will build business skills, confidence and knowledge of overseas markets so they can return home to become the entrepreneurs and business leaders that Britain needs to remain a global success. Meanwhile, host countries will benefit from the

volunteers' hard work, helping them to become more competitive and, ultimately, less reliant on aid. (DfID 2014)

On this part of the programme 'ideas and the drive to succeed are what counts' and volunteering for development involves 'creating business plans, managing finances, devising marketing and boosting sales' (ibid.). In a speech at the launch of ICS entrepreneur the Secretary of State for International Development Justine Greening said:

Britain was built on the dynamism and graft of its entrepreneurs and our country's future will be no different. That's why we're investing in the skills and energy of young people, no matter where in the UK they're from or what their background, so that we continue to be competitive and successful. For anyone determined to be the next James Dyson or Hilary Devey this is an amazing opportunity to kick-start a career in business and entrepreneurship. (ibid.)

If before the programme hinted at entrepreneurialism, and needed an analytical frame to draw it out, with this latest development the connection is made explicitly. Quite apart from the problematic construction of the South as an untapped market, or an area for economic growth (and therefore expansion), the melding of global citizenship with such close ties to individual competitiveness and a clear business-centred career (=life) trajectory marks an intensification of the neoliberalised subject making of ICS volunteers. 'What counts', volunteers are given to understand, is a 'drive to succeed' where "success" is valorised in terms of competing in the market. It is difficult not to see at this point the neoliberalised nature of global citizenship as it is constructed and offered to volunteers on the ICS programme.

A productive way that academics have engaged with these neoliberal impositions in (especially) western democracies has been to consider subject-making as a type of Foucauldian "governmentality" (1.3) where articulations of subjectivity work to perform 'a concept of the human subject as an autonomous, individualised, self-directing, decision-making agent' (Bondi 2005, 499). The emphasis on "active" citizenship on ICS and the heavily emphasised theme of professional self-advancement, seen as a governmentality enables us to visualise with more clarity the position of the ICS programme as part of a broader neoliberal policy making agenda:

[n]eo-liberal strategies of rule, found in diverse realms including workplaces, educational institutions and health and welfare agencies, encourage people to see themselves as individualised and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well being. This conception of the "active society" can also be linked to a particular politics of self in which we are all encouraged to "work on ourselves" in a range of domains. (Larner 2000, 13)

From this perspective, volunteers on the ICS programme, in their pursuit and practice of global citizenship, work simultaneously towards a neoliberal model of the self whose autonomy complements reduced state provision. It should also be noted the ways that these appeals to our egocentrism individualise, weakening ties to other citizens and shaping the contours of subjectivity in the image of consumerism:

The citizen is embodied in public identifications and practices; where the consumer is usually thought of as a private figure. The citizen is associated with the rise of a ‘public realm’ in which both citizens and public institutions are more or less insulated from private interests and passions. In the public realm, people as citizens fulfil their obligations to one another, engage in mutual deliberation and exercise thought and choice in the definition and pursuit of the ‘public interest’. By contrast, the consumer is a figure motivated by personal desires, pursuing their own interests through anonymous transactions in which relationships between buyer and seller are characterised by mutual indifference. (Clarke et al. 2007, 2)

This helps elucidate the appeal ICS makes, its underpinning values and the ways that citizens are asked to perceive themselves. The strong emphasis within global citizenship on personal interest and self-advancement constructs citizenship in a way that almost completely disregards formerly constitutive aspects of citizenship. For instance ‘mutual deliberation’ pales against a performance of subjects guided by market-deferent values such as competition, self-advancement and individual progress.

Folding this back into the analysis of ICS we can begin to see the ways that the particular mode of global citizenship the programme envisions is heavily inflected by neoliberal ideals of how a “productive” citizen should be and act. The apotheosis of this process comes at the final stage of the “volunteer journey” at which returning volunteers are required to complete “UK Action” in volunteers’ home communities:

when you get back to the UK after your ICS placement, you will carry out a project, called UK action. Your aim will be to raise awareness amongst others of development issues, and of the work that you have done to contribute towards poverty reduction. You might do something like hold an event at your University or put on a photo exhibition to raise awareness. We will support you to do this with ideas and advice. It’s a great thing to have on your CV. This final part of the programme demonstrates how the ICS volunteer experience can start a life long journey of positive social action at home. (Raleigh International 2012)

The commitment volunteers make is to three months of UK Action, but it is clear that this period is intended as an entry point into a life-commitment to active citizenship:

**Your ICS journey doesn’t suddenly stop when you complete your placement overseas.**

You’ll doubtless be inspired by your experiences and motivated to act on the issues you care about. We’ll encourage you to take part in at least one project that benefits your local community or seeks to bring about positive social change – and support you all the way. This is called Action at Home.

There are lots of possibilities. For example, you might organise an event, such as a photo exhibition at your local library, share your stories and experiences of international development work with school or college students, get involved with volunteering in your local community or lobby your MP about one of the issues raised by your placement.

**A new beginning**

Action at Home is an essential part of ICS and every volunteer must complete at least one project within six months of returning home.

It’s your chance to carry on making a difference, engaging people in building stronger societies and tackling poverty – and to mark a beginning to your life of active citizenship.

It’s also a chance to develop more skills that will look great on your CV.

<http://www.volunteers.org/action-at-home>



This 'new beginning' of a 'life of active citizenship' repositions the development work of the volunteering placement, re-orientating it to a focus on British communities and society. It appears from this that the Government, ultimately, envisions global citizenship as more domestically- than globally-active. In fact there is no mention of further involvement in development work in the South except for some vague references to 'awareness', this contrasts with the quite specific options for projects in UK communities. This is a domestic focus that has been noted before in commentary on Platform2, a smaller-scale DfID-funded predecessor of ICS that also sought to promote global citizenship. Matt Baillie Smith and Nina Laurie flag up the programme's lack of engagement with matters of global equity and justice in favour of emphasising UK policy needs which, they argue, 'presents an uncomfortable connection with colonial and development histories where the global South is a vehicle for the realisation of UK domestic and other policy needs' (2011, 553). This, according to Baillie Smith and Laurie, implicated Platform2 in New Labour designs on active citizenship for British citizens (*ibid.*, 552-554). It would seem that there is some of this coming through in its successor; with such heavy emphasis on domestic active citizenship, the focus on international development would appear to be a means to nudge young people into a life of domestic voluntarism.

What we learn, then, is that global citizenship as it is promoted through ICS cannot be separated from a neoliberal ideal of subjectivity. The programme's emphasis on 'confidence', 'difference making' and 'career' sits close to the idea of 'the capitalisation of existence itself' where enterprise and entrepreneurialism become the meta-values that guide citizens' choices and conduct (Davies and Bansel 2007, 252). We should at this point return to Foucault via Nikolas Rose and recognise that this 'project of the self' makes the construction of global citizenship on ICS a potential mode of 'enrolling individuals as allies in the pursuit of political, economic and social objectives' (Miller and Rose 1990, 18). Global citizens are, in this way doing a lot more than 'fighting poverty', they are produced through the programme as the ideal subjects for the continuing neoliberalisation of social relations. Assuming success: these citizens volunteer to fill gaps in state provision, they aspire to the skills required in a neoliberal service sector and, disconcertingly, they undertake 'social action' in pursuit of apolitical notions of 'change-making' in the ever-widening gaps between the rich North and poor South.

### 3.4 Reflexive neoliberalism

Returning to discourse and discourse analysis offers one more valuable perspective on the performance of global citizenship on the programme. If we recall that relating power and discourse involves attending to i) the production of the text; ii) its character and iii) its consumption (Fairclough 2003; Dixon 2010) then one particular feature of the promotion of ICS requires further critical attention. The promotional material for ICS complicates the question of who speaks so that the production of discourse is obscured. The ‘communications hub’ based at VSO in Putney co-ordinates the publicity of ICS and monitors its public image. This is understandable given the readiness of certain sections of the press to criticise funds that flow outside of “austerity Britain”. A marked example is a piece by Andrew Gilligan for the *Telegraph* in which he dug up and decontextualised a number of volunteer blog entries to paint a quite unfavourable picture of the programme. ‘Gap-year holidays that reveal the madness of overseas aid’ is a biased piece that carries a hyperbolic tagline of ‘Britain’s £7bn aid budget is paying for unqualified teenagers to travel the world’ (*Telegraph* 2012). Such sensationalism is clearly economical with the truth and both DfID and VSO would be naïve not to dedicate time and resources to guard against such hackneyed versions of development work and ICS. The Putney-based operation, however, provides a good example of how discourse is produced on ICS that blurs the roles assumed by critical analysis.

Client:	VSO
Source:	Western Morning News (Devon) (Main)
Date:	30 November 2011
Page:	20
Reach:	53980
Size:	231cm2
Value:	697.62

fig 3.7

Activity at the hub is co-ordinated by a small number of staff, each with backgrounds in media and media management. The hub has a subscription with “Precise” a media monitoring service that quantifies in pounds how much each article in the press is worth to DfID and VSO as Public Relations (that is, how much the PR would have cost). As with most media monitoring services, Precise also collates all of the coverage in the national and international press and provides a summary to the team who can then co-ordinate responses, some of which, when advance warning is given of potentially negative press, can be pre-empted by a strategically timed press release. This is all standard procedure one might imagine but it would be blithe to ignore it. The cumulative effect of the hub’s centrality to the media’s representation of ICS is that many articles are effectively ghost written at the ICS-VSO office, some of which barely change the words. The article below (fig 3.8) is an example of one such article entirely written by and attributed to a member of the media team. This particular article was printed in the *Western Morning News*, based in Devon. Precise tell us that it reached more than 53,000 people generating

publicity that would otherwise have cost almost £700 (above, fig 3.7). There are many more articles with higher figures. What is notable about this is that, though these are not opinion pieces, they do betray a model of ICS and global citizenship that – obviously, given their source – chimes with the DfID model of volunteering and global citizenship. Matt's volunteering on the ICS programme works towards one specific end: post-placement he will 'bring his skills and expertise gained abroad to a future career'. He will 'help people' and this will be 'life-changing' – for him: 'he is excited and optimistic about how the experience will benefit him'. This is a volunteer-centric narrative, accompanied by the usual press release (above, 87) from the Secretary of State for International Development that reiterates the 'enthusiasm' and 'challenges' constitutive of the Government's development imaginary (article, final paragraph). There is a knowledge embedded into this construction of volunteering and development that is further embedded in its presentation as a factual and seemingly uncontroversial newspaper article. The iterative moment between the producer and the receiver of discourse is passed over and these knowledges that, as discussed above (3.2.1; 3.3), are underpinned by neoliberal rationalities: they show us the

## Christmas in Nepal for volunteer Matt

BY MICHAEL HILL

With the festive season looming, most young people turn their attention to enjoying relaxing family time – a chance to take a break from work, college or university.

But a group of intrepid young people, including Young Farmer Matt Gluyas from Truro, will spend Christmas, and three months besides, volunteering in Nepal on a project to provide children with access to education and information on health care.

Matt, who applied through the new International Citizen Service scheme for 18 to 22-year-olds, will be working with the youth-led development agency Restless Development and hopes to contribute significantly to the Nepalese project, before returning to the UK to bring his skills and experience gained abroad to a future career.

Matt, aged 18, already has a significant background in volunteering, working with the local disaster relief charity Shelterbox. Currently he is working on the family farm and is a member of the local



Matt Gluyas will work on a project to provide children with access to education and information on health care

YFC. He went to school in Stithians before attending Truro College.

Although he will be missing a family Christmas to work hard for three months, he is excited and optimistic about how the experience will benefit him.

He said: "I'm really excited, as this could be a life-changing experience for me. I have an ambition to help people, a big interest in global development

and also a desire to travel."

The International Citizen Service is a new Government volunteering opportunity for young people to work in a developing country for up to 12 weeks. The scheme is largely funded by the Government. People with lower incomes can take part free, while those who can afford to are asked to pay some of the costs.

The organisation's development secretary Andrew

Mitchell said: "Volunteers like Matt will learn first-hand about the challenges faced by very poor communities in developing countries, and how their lives can be improved. By making this contribution these volunteers will show what a difference one person can make in the world. I'm sure he will return full of enthusiasm for helping others, and with an understanding and appreciation of the results."

fig 3.8

world (global) and ourselves (citizens) already interpreted, reiterated and normalised.

The media team at VSO (directly answerable to DfID's communications team), no matter how professional, how diligent, cannot be an impartial voice in the cultural (journalistic) representation of public policy. The result is access to media through which interested opinions of ICS are presented as neutral, this access is thus an example of neoliberal discourse posing as cultural output, a means by which governance is able to take the reins of one aspect of public life. This is perhaps at its most notable in the growing number of blogs written by ICS volunteers. Many of these are published or linked to on the DfID and ICS websites alongside the bite-sized testimonies included above. The blogs are, unsurprisingly, marked by their consonance with the ICS version of global citizenship. Some examples:

This is the message I will communicate to other British young people: the experience is not only hugely enjoyable, but also highly beneficial to the communities involved. After all, what's more important *than working to improve the lives of some of the world's poorest individuals?* (Roz McGregor, 21) <http://blogs.dfid.gov.uk/2012/04/ciao-ethiopia/>

I hope I am ready and willing to put my *motivation and enthusiasm* into the experience I am about to undertake <http://blogs.dfid.gov.uk/2012/01/countdown-to-take-off/>

My Ethiopian counterpart and I are starting to teach English classes this week, and are also meeting with some disabled young people, whom we're hoping to help get organised into a club. *We want to help them become economically self-sufficient, for instance by grouping together with like-minded individuals to collectively approach*

*microfinance* *institutions*  
<http://blogs.dfid.gov.uk/2012/02/fascination-with-ferengis/>

I also think a lot in today's 'westernised' society is taken for granted and that taking part in an ICS placement is an amazing way to change this – both for the individual and for their communities as part of the social action each volunteer commits to undertake upon their return. Becoming a part of these social action projects at home is intended to help us help other people in the UK understand why *reducing global poverty* is important and how they can help.

*I hope the skills gained through the ICS will be life-changing and potentially lead me into a future career* <http://blogs.dfid.gov.uk/2012/01/hello/>

[my emphasis]

Not a word out of place. The by-now familiar themes that construct development and citizenship are reproduced without deviation. 'Improving lives' and 'reducing global poverty' are performed as 'economic self-sufficiency'; while volunteers are equipped to contribute through 'motivation and enthusiasm' and stand to gain 'life-changing skills' that promise a 'future career'. What is significant is the discursive roles of the "producer" and "receiver" here are indistinguishable as the volunteer performances of development and global citizenship are carbon copies of that of DfID. This is not an indication of any sort of 'successfully embedded discourse', however, because these accounts should not be taken as authentic iteration. Instead the use of the blogs in the promotion of ICS represents a point where the voices merge and the received understandings of the mechanics of

discourse break down; if ‘meanings are made through the interplay between [production, character and consumption]’ (Fairclough 2003, 11) of discourse, then these examples are marked by the very lack of interplay.

Put differently, the power of discourse depends on three agents: the articulator, the articulated and the articulated to. Discourse analysis assumes these elements to be independent of one another and implies a temporal arrangement where the articulator and articulated comes – necessarily – before the articulated to. That discourse is iterative does not detract from this, there is always the presumption of a direction, no matter how comprehensive the dispersal or embeddedness of the discourse. This temporal and three-agent-basis is a main tenet of analysis, so that a critique of the articulator – usually, in the social sciences, focusing on power and its expression – can be undertaken. However, as with the example of the communications hub, at hand is an altered relationship between the Government and knowledge production whereby discourse on ICS is embedded, not through a reception and reiteration of discourse but by the production of discourse that is *already* received and reiterated. It is a hybridised discourse, not directly attributable but nonetheless iterative of Government ideas of what it is to be a global citizen.

At this point the ways that neoliberal forms might work their way into cultural discourses begin to come into view: ICS, volunteering and global citizenship are already circulating as normalised neoliberal rationalities that, crucially, interact with and know social life. This is where the analysis really moves away from a political economy idea of imposed realities according to neoliberal/market logic towards an idea of pervasive and persuasive neoliberal rhetoric that demonstrates reflexivity in the attractive offers it makes to a diverse range of identities and sensibilities. The following section develops this idea to explore the ways that global citizenship – while remaining a neoliberal form that reproduces neoliberalised knowledge on development – reveals its “promiscuity” in its appeal to diverse – and sometimes contradictory – discursive formations.

#### 3.4.1 Co-optive neoliberalism: the Big Society and ICS

In the blogs discussed at the end of the previous section, alongside the prominent themes of “development as economic growth” and “skills for a future career”, there is also a seemingly contradictory recourse to collectivist discourse. The small sample here cumulatively constructs ICS as ‘highly beneficial to the communities’ through ‘social action’, part of which is helping to organise microfinance collectives. The argument built so far in this chapter has only lightly touched on this aspect (or understanding) of

neoliberalism: its “promiscuity” as a way of doing politics that makes an appeal to seemingly contradictory sensibilities and positions (Clarke 2008). I argue here that the Big Society, and global citizenship each contain within them a political register that makes diverse appeals in a way that evidences the notion that neoliberal discourse is a reflexive and adaptable form.



fig 3.9

The entire idea of the Big Society draws heavily on an appeal to a collective, people-driven and care-orientated mobilisation of volunteers. This relies in large part on an appeal to ideas ordinarily associated with the Left. At the launch of Big Society David Cameron stood before an image of a clenched fist below a capitalised slogan: POWER TO PEOPLE (image, fig 3.9). He criticised the state’s ‘top down, top-heavy, controlling’ presence that has reduced workers to the ‘weary puppets of government’. The promise is of the ‘most radical distribution of power from the state to citizen in living memory’ and a ‘big advance for people power’. It is time, the Prime Minister asserts, that ‘selfishness and individualism’ make way for increased ‘social solidarity’ (Conservative Party 2009a). All of which seems out of place; against the backdrop of massive public spending cuts and a widely perceived acceleration in the neoliberalisation of public services, it is curious (suspicious, even) that evocations of the Big Society should draw on such ‘militantly socialist’ (Glasman 2010) (or, at a push, ‘Maoist’ (Jordan 2011)) rhetoric.

This leftist tilt filters through the Big Society into the ICS programme. The recruitment and training literature is replete with phrases such as ‘a better future’, ‘working together’ and ‘social change’. Together these evoke a collective taking action for more justice. Bearing in mind for a moment the distinctions between soft and critical versions of global citizenship – and that so far ICS is associated with the former – these themes seem incongruous with the idea of shaping citizenship in the image of neoliberal ideals. For sure: it seems unlikely that policy makers involved in ICS wish to foster 7,000 young people looking to bring about *too much* social change - that would be to work the Government out of office. Still, recurrent in the promotion and implementation of the programme is a visiting of themes that are consistent with a critical and activist form of global citizenship.



For instance, if we recall the varying understandings of power assumed by different modes of global citizenship, from transnational mobilities (Urry 2007) to postmodern revolution (Hardt and Negri 2000; 1.1), David Cameron's following construction of global citizenship seems curious:

We all know the passion, dedication and skills that young people have to offer. It is this that will be the real driving force to bring about change, and to really help tackle poverty locally [...] The young of this country are as passionate and idealistic as any generation before. Perhaps more passionate. They march against poverty set up online campaigns, they push their parents to recycle and they care deeply about climate change. (DfID 2012a)

Cameron elicits critical voices in a powerful rhetorical move that works towards co-opting the more radical iterations of global citizenship.

To understand this better we should recall understandings of neoliberalism that recognise it as a rhetorical agent well equipped to bring seemingly contradictory positions together under the arc of the market. From "getting comfortable" with difference (Morris 2012) to promoting (certain) freedoms, neoliberal discourse is "promiscuous" or "heteroglossic", showing a capacity to coalesce with seemingly conflicting political ideas (Clarke 2008). Recalling also Liz Bondi's characterisation of neoliberal discourse as a 'flexible beast', it seems that there is something to neoliberalism that makes it a rich source of rhetoric, one that can justify swingeing cuts, reducing top rate taxes while appealing to social justice and community solidarity.

Returning to Cameron's call to 'passionate and idealistic'

global citizens who 'march against poverty', this construction of global citizenship draws on the flexibility of neoliberal rhetoric by taking 'existing discourses, projects, practices, and imaginaries and reworking them within a framing neoliberal conception of development



fig 3.10

and its place in the world' (Clarke 2008, 139). The 'existing discourse' here of protest is a rich one, full of not mere 'passions' but powerful critiques in which the practices of the British Government are heavily criticised. What Cameron does is take those voices, those of the global citizens protesting at Seattle, Davos and Genova (above, fig 3.10), and enrol them as 'trainee members of the Big Society' who remain active but, 'preferably on uncontroversial causes such as recycling and non-specific poverty' (de St. Croix 2011, 51).

This is a telling rhetorical move. Those who 'march against poverty' march against not a 'non-specific' poverty but against one that is vividly illustrated and variously informed by postdevelopmentalism, postcolonialism, economic analysis, dependency theory and social justice movements. The critiques are made more specific by citing governments – not least the British Government – as obstacles to reducing poverty. And more: marchers not only march, they protest and seek to challenge power. Cameron, the Government and DfID are therefore the target of protest (and marches) and outcasts of the movement; their presence, purporting to be cohabitants of an oppositional stance is hence inauthentic, as this account from journalist George Monbiot on one such 'march' illustrates:

I began to realise how much trouble we were in when Hilary Benn, the secretary of state for international development, announced that he would be joining the Make Poverty History march on Saturday. What would he be chanting, I wondered? "Down with me and all I stand for"? [...]

The G8 leaders and the business interests their summit promotes can absorb our demands for aid, debt, even slightly fairer terms of trade, and lose nothing. They can wear our colours, speak our language, claim to support our aims, and discover in our agitation not new constraints but new opportunities for manufacturing consent. Justice, this consensus says, can be achieved without confronting power. (2005)

Monbiot pinpoints here the way that radical politics is co-opted in a peculiarly contradictory yet entirely normalised way. Hilary Benn's presence is similar to Cameron's and is a move to depoliticise citizenship and nullify dissent. Cameron's patronage (and patronising) of Britain's "idealistic" ("unrealistic"?) youth waters down a heady brew of activist politics to deliver an insipid and bodiless vision of global citizenship. To draw on Monbiot: Cameron wears activist colours to manufacture consent.

This is carried through onto the programme itself where volunteers are required to undergo training on "what is development?". Below are examples from the 'Global Citizenship Pack' (figs 3.11; 3.12; 3.13; 3.14), part of the literature VSO uses to educate volunteers on development and global citizenship. On first examination, the themes taken up in the material present a critical view of development. In what seems to be a shift away from the ahistorical and apolitical 'neoliberal version of development' this material



## Introduction to international development

3d

## 3d Colonialism

Colonialism is one country's political and economic control over another. Usually, this was richer, developed countries taking control of poorer, less developed countries. Colonialism began in the 1400s, and most colonies had gained independence by the 1980s.



How does colonialism affect countries today? Think of countries that were colonised, or that colonised others. Does colonialism still have an effect on the country, for example on its national boundaries, the school curriculum, language, the legal system or economic activities?

“The irony in all the talk of aid to Africa is that the most important concept and source of pride in many African communities is that of self-sufficiency and self-reliance. My Chewa community has managed to survive successfully for ages until some colonialists, and currently some NGOs, come to tell us we are poor, disempowered and illiterate, and in dire need of help. These are the views externally imposed, and unfortunately accepted and now internalised as part of our condition.”

Dennis Banda, footballer, Zambia<sup>27</sup>  
(Zambia was a British colony until 1964)

“When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the Europeans. How many of us were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or of the Wahehe? Many of us have learned to dance the rumba, or the cha cha, to rock and roll and to twist and even to dance the waltz and foxtrot. But how many of us can dance, or have even heard of the gombe sugu, the mangala, nyang umumi, kiduo, or lele mama?”

Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania<sup>28</sup> (Tanzania was colonised by Germany from 1880 to 1919 and by Britain from 1919 to 1961)

fig 3.11

## Introduction to international development

3c

## The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund

Two more international organisations that were created with the hope of bringing peace and economic development to the world after the end of World War Two.

The World Bank is part of the UN. It works to reduce poverty and help achieve the MDGs by providing financial support to developing countries through grants and low-interest or interest-free loans.

The IMF also provides loans to poorer countries. It works on economic policy

by developing and implementing policies to ensure global economic stability, and advising and supporting countries on managing their national economies.

The work of the World Bank and the IMF is closely linked, and not everyone supports the policies they have promoted and the way they work.

Global economics and politics is complex. Discuss the different opinions about the work of these organisations and the economic policies they promote. What do you think about the World Bank and the IMF?



fig 3.12

Every year, five million children die from malnutrition.<sup>21</sup>

“These institutions (World Bank and IMF) have become dominant players in the world economy. Not only countries seeking their help, but also those seeking their ‘seal of approval’ so that they can better access international financial markets, must follow their economic prescriptions, which reflect their free-market ideologies and theories. The result for many people has been poverty and for many countries social and political chaos. The IMF has made mistakes in all areas it has been involved in: development, crisis management and in countries in transition from communism to capitalism.”

Joseph Stiglitz, author<sup>26</sup>




## Introduction to international development


3e

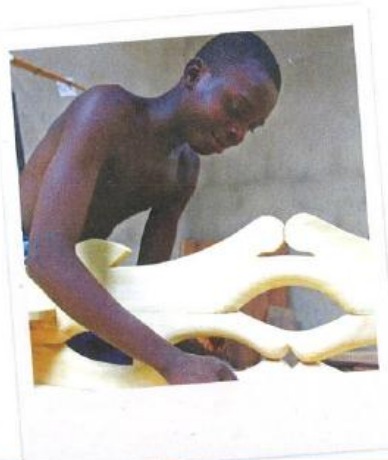
## Debt

Loans can be made to individuals, organisations and countries to provide them with money needed to expand or improve. For example:

- An individual might need a loan to buy a house or go to university.
- A business might need a loan to buy stock and equipment to get started.
- A country might need a loan for project such as building roads or an airport.

 Do you agree or disagree with these opinions of the international debt situation? Why? Find out about the debts owed by and owing to your home country.

 Have you ever borrowed money? What was it for, who did you borrow it from and were you able to pay it back?



Loans provide money when it is needed, but they have to be paid back later – usually with interest.

Poorer countries around the world are in debt to private banks (commercial debt), other countries (bilateral debt) and organisations such as the IMF and World Bank (multilateral debt).

Making repayments on these debts is preventing countries from spending money on other needs such as education and healthcare, and many organisations believe the debts should be cancelled.

“ One argument against debt cancellation is that it encourages countries to borrow irresponsibly. But poor countries are in debt crisis because they were lent money irresponsibly. Rich world governments must accept that debt isn't just a cause of poverty – it is also a result of their reckless, negligent or self-interested lending, and they should not now demand this money back from the poor. 100% cancellation of all un-payable and unjust debts (with no strings attached) is not a matter of charity – of the rich world giving aid or 'hand outs' – it's a matter of justice. ”

Jubilee Debt Campaign<sup>31</sup>

fig 3.13

## Globalisation and interdependence

6a


**Coca-Cola** – sells **1.7 billion** drinks in over **200** countries each day.<sup>65</sup>


“ We believe we have a responsibility for the quality of water that goes into our beverages, but also the quality of water that is discharged from our plants as a result of our manufacturing processes. We adhere to all applicable local wastewater laws... Our goal is to return 100% of the water used for manufacturing safely back to the environment by the end of 2010. ”


Coca-Cola, 2011<sup>66</sup>

“ Coca-Cola is behaving like a criminal in a small village where I have had to go repeatedly because the tribal women have lost their drinking water. 1.5 million litres a day is being mined. It has tried its 'very best' to terrorise our women, to corrupt our courts, to bribe officials, it is just that we have continued and persisted and have won some battles against Coke. Corporate Social Responsibility is only showing up at the level of shareholders and the brochures they receive. ”

Vandana Shiva, environmentalist, in an interview in EurActiv.com, 2004.<sup>67</sup>

 What products do you buy from TNCs? How much can you find out about who made these items and how they are treated by their employer?

 How have the actions of these companies affected the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (see chapter 4)?

 How have local, national or transnational businesses had an impact in your local community?

**McDonald's**  
employs 1.7 million  
people and has  
**33,000**  
restaurants

**Coca-Cola** sells  
**1.7 billion**  
drinks in over 200  
countries every day

fig 3.14

The images are scans of a *Global Citizenship Pack* in use on the ICS programme. I was given a copy by a volunteer leader in India. The pack is designed for volunteers and also 'for anyone interested in exploring global issues and becoming an active global citizen' (VSO 2011).

provides volunteers with a potentially critical standpoint. For instance, Joseph Stiglitz's (2002), vociferous critique of the practices of the IMF, is afforded prominence (fig 3.11), as is the topic of debt: 'making repayments on these debts is preventing countries from spending money on other needs such as education and healthcare, and many organisations believe the debts should be cancelled' (fig 3.12). Even Coca-Cola and McDonald's feature, two favourite targets of anti-globalisation protesters (that is, a specific type of global citizenship) (fig 3.14). Momentarily it seems that this imagines global citizens as agents of change and that therefore this training material follows a pedagogy that 'encourages the questioning, challenging, and ultimately, the transformation of [the world]' (Hanson 2010, 76). However, by attending to the constructions in this material and investigating their promiscuity, we can take a critical standpoint on these and other similar presentations of more critical elements to development and global citizenship.

By evoking interdependence, debt and colonialism in considerations of volunteers' involvement in development, this training material – and Cameron's call to those who 'march' – again cites and simultaneously blunts potent debates to do with global inequality. The material on global governance (fig 3.11) focuses on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – both institutions that have become the target for many radical global citizens. But even a cursory reading reveals the ways that powerful critique is cited but then flattened out: the Bank and IMF were created in 'hope'; IMF 'develops', 'implements' and 'advises on' (and not imposes, enforces, insists on) policies in poor countries; the institutions contribute to 'peace'. There are many who would disagree (see 6.1). One is Stiglitz, but if he is present as a vociferous critic, his vociferous critique is quietly absented. In *Globalisation and its Discontents* Stiglitz's criticism of the IMF is, as one reviewer puts it, 'hostile and aggressive' (Edwards 2002) as he labels the IMF staff 'market fundamentalists' and prone to 'intellectual inconsistency' and 'bad economics' (2002, especially Chapter nine). A Nobel Laureate, Stiglitz builds a well reasoned – and well received – account of exactly how the IMF's economics in developing countries have exacerbated inequalities. In the version above presented to volunteers there is little of either the critical energy or critical substance; Stiglitz's name appears but only against a tame quote on 'dominant players' who have 'made mistakes'. Polarising issues – the very issues that mark the lines between different iterations of global citizenship – are evoked here and blurred; there seems to be a call to activist types of global citizenship while at the same time reforming their radical political sensibilities.

The appearance of Coca-Cola and McDonald's works similarly (fig 3.14). Why exactly are these TNCs cited? The only information provided, despite the ostensibly critical nature of this material, is how popular the brands are: McDonald's employs 1.7 million people and has 33,000 restaurants and Coca-Cola sells 1.7 billion drinks in over 200 countries every day (curiously this information appears twice (top left and bottom right corners)). The short criticism by Vandana Shiva is graphologically subordinated by the surrounding information and is "balanced" by a corporate statement provided by Coca-Cola, not a source trusted by many activists, one would guess. Arguably the most comprehensive "flattening out" of critical views, however, comes in the construction of colonialism (fig 3.12). In the brief text colonialism is explained as 'one country's political and economic control over another' that occurred between 'richer, developed' and 'poorer, less developed countries'. Even to the most sympathetic of readers this is a decidedly soft version of colonialism. Granted, space is short, but given that this is a text produced by a Government programme for British citizens, it is difficult not to read it as a revision of colonialism's often brutal and always invasive domination over peoples and places. The idea too that colonisation rested on a pre-existing level of development betrays an overly Westerncentric perspective - how can a country be *less* developed without a (European) point of reference? This also obfuscates questions of cause and effect, as if low levels of development were fixed before Western involvement in the South, when in fact colonial era activity has profound effects for current levels of development (Lange et al. 2006). These issues are hardly tackled in the question volunteers are asked to discuss: 'how does colonialism affect countries today?' in terms of 'national boundaries, the school curriculum, language, the legal system or economic activities'. There is little critical consideration elicited in this particular discussion topic.

These representations, in not engaging with (especially) Britain's role in colonialism, debt and interdependence, ultimately cite but refuse to fully articulate critical issues that would go some way towards informing critical global citizenship. Through the Government discourse presented in this section there is a call made to a specific type of global citizen who is historically associated with anti-globalisation movements. While at times this is quite clearly superficial lip service (an arbitrary mention of McDonald's) on other occasions the discourse is more convincing and manages to capture some of the energy of critical standpoints (for example in the case of 'those who march'). Ultimately, however, as this part of the discussion has demonstrated, these elements of Government discourse are void of critical substance. Instead these discourses cite, mimic and dilute

positions of resistance, restricting the possibilities for people to adopt critical viewpoints on power.

Taking these aspects of the ICS programme, their appeal to critical elements of global citizenship and setting them against understandings of neoliberal discourse as a mutable form, we begin to get a sense of the ways that the ICS programme may form part of a wider neoliberal trajectory of harnessing and co-opting dissenting voices. The appeal to the critical global citizens who protest moves to draw them into the soft development imaginary circumscribed by the ICS programme, a process that therefore co-opts resistance. Liz Bondi and Nina Laurie have described this as evidence of the ways that reflexive figures of neoliberal discourse know and “recognise” us:

If neoliberalism “recognises” political resistance as the performance of neoliberal subjectivity, there is no way of resisting that which remains wholly outside neoliberalism. In other words, there is no uncontaminated form of, or space for, political resistance. (2005, 400)

This is a depressing but real prospect: if those who march against poverty channel their activism through work on ICS, resistance is effectively nullified and incorporated into the rhetoric of neoliberalism. Hence the critical element global citizenship is evoked but ultimately hollowed out of its radical centre and suddenly global citizenship is working for - not protesting against - the power of the state and international governance.

### 3.5 Closing comments: advancing the understanding of neoliberalism and its reflexivity

This chapter has illustrated the neoliberalising presence of the state in the ICS programme in the way it (re)positions global civil society organisations so that they become subject to the logics of the market. To draw out this presence the commentary makes use of an understanding of neoliberalism as an ideological approach to policy that sets in place structural impositions for institutions and social relations. The discussion then considered global citizenship as a product of the neoliberal rationalities that work through ICS and the global civil society it seeks to build. This, I have argued, works through a performance by the Government of neoliberalised versions of both development and the self that are productive of knowledge that constitute the ways volunteers are produced as global citizens. In a development imaginary that precludes critical positions and a quite pointed projection of “the Self as entrepreneur”, global citizenship on ICS is shot through with neoliberal rationalities. By this stage of the chapter the analysis has moved on to incorporate more post-structural views on neoliberalism, seeking to pick through the discursive features that know and produce institutions and subjects through iterative and

normalised elements of government and cultural discourse. The final section of the analysis retains this analytical frame to explore the idea noted by many that neoliberal discourse is marked by a capacity to appeal to various and contradictory positions. Here we really begin to get a sense of how the different – and sometimes radical – modes of global citizenship identified in Chapter 1 are unproblematically encouraged on the ICS programme. The catch is, of course, that the radical core seems to be somewhat hollowed out, suggesting that this aspect of the programme may function to co-opt the types of resistance shown by global citizens of late in movements such as (in its initial stages) Make Poverty History and Occupy.

The chapter serves the wider thesis in offering perspectives on the ways that the ambiguities of global citizenship identified in Chapter 1 can be reconciled through an iteration that appeals to both “soft” and “critical” modes. The discussion also offers an account of the Government’s presence in civil society and its role in shaping this particular case of volunteering through administrative and managerial procedures with the processes of neoliberalisation. Finally, the chapter also tracks the ways that neoliberal rationalities flow through the construction of global citizenship, especially in the dual focus on, again, neoliberalised articulations of development and the self. Together, this presents a thorough account of neoliberalisation on the ICS programme and the promotion of global citizenship.

This leaves, however, questions open as to how neoliberalism is positioned in this type of analysis. Central to these questions is the issue of whether the above analysis, in the shifting analytical frames from structural to post-structural, focuses on *aspects* of neoliberalism or *understandings* of neoliberalism. As an interpretive practice this commentary folds the object of analysis – volunteering and global citizenship on the ICS programme – back into the conceptual *understandings* of neoliberalism while also implying that these understandings are *aspects* of neoliberalism, in a sense therefore reproducing through research the totalising grasp attributed to an everywhere-present neoliberalism. At times it seems that whatever the policy discourse, there is a body of academic literature that enables us to interpret all government activity, and the social and cultural forms that follow (if indeed they do follow), through a frame of neoliberalism. Important questions then arise as to how people – volunteers in this case – are implicitly performed in such power-centric research performances. In Chapter 5 I discuss this in depth.

The following Chapter, however, continues the work of documenting the presence of neoliberalism on ICS in a discussion of the affective dimension of power present on the programme and global citizenship.

This chapter continues the examination of ICS and global citizenship by attending to conceptualisations of neoliberalism as a form of affective power. The chapter has two aims. First is to document the affective ‘push’ to take up global citizenship on the ICS programme. The second is to theorise links between this affective push and neoliberal power. The discussion at times takes a necessarily speculative tone in recognition of the ‘autonomy of affect’ that makes it an ‘unstable object of governance’ (Anderson 2007; Massumi 1995; 2002). Nonetheless, at the end of the chapter I conclude that volunteers are drawn to global citizenship by affective means that cannot be entirely separated from neoliberal power. By extension, therefore, the discussion in this chapter builds the case that the ICS programme uses affective power to promote global citizenship.

#### 4.1 Introduction: conceptualising and studying affects

As discussed in Chapter 1 (1.3; also: 2.2) social scientists have recently become engaged in documenting the ‘push’ of embodied aspects of social life (Crang 2003; Thrift 2004a; McCormack 2008; Pile 2009). Approaching this area of research involves imagining people as “fleshy” and brought to act in social relations through feeling bodies, their own and those of others. While it is important to acknowledge a certain ‘autonomy’ to the body and its “life knowledge” as emergent, it would be naive to neglect study of the interested parties who are engaged in engineering aspects of embodied experience. Taking seriously the notion that such experience – emotions, intensities, affects – ‘make things happen’, and that powerful governments and corporations are interested parties, has led researchers to recognise and explore the concepts of “neuroliberalism” (Isin 2004), “affective governance” (Hook 2007), “affective politics” (Ahmed 2004; Barnett 2008) and “affective capitalism” (Illouz 2007; 2008). Expressions of power within these concepts are found to cover the spectrum of human sensory experience, from the *genuine* pleasure that comes from the ‘contemporary affective mode of consumption’ (Murer 2011) to the anxiety-inducing strategies of ‘governing through neurosis’ (Isin 2004). Academic approaches to this ‘sensorium’ attempt to track the circulation of affects through populations and, as discussed in Chapter 2 (2.2), convincing arguments have been made that ‘engineered’ affects are now routinely distributed through expressions of power, such as those related to anxiety and fear in the politicised manipulation of post-9/11 security (Massumi 2005; Anderson and Adey 2011).



At smaller – or less obviously dramatic – scales, embodied response and affects are less readily perceptible, but this apparent subtlety may well mean that equally pervasive modes of affective governance pass undetected while shaping important aspects of our choices, behaviours and identities. While this might seem a dystopian prospect, the reality is that Whitehall strategists already think in terms of a ‘post-rational human subject’ to whom appeals are made in the “new brain-world” of policy making where ‘choice architecture’ is continually rethought and redesigned with close attention to “type 1” (pre-cognitive) thought processes (Pykett 2012; also Jones et al. 2011; Dolan et al. 2012). Perhaps this is more disquieting than the drama of anxiety-inducing terror alerts as government policy begins to operate in the seemingly inconsequential, quotidian unfolding of life, showing interest in inflecting our every (thought and unthought) decision. The idea that MI6 and GCHQ heighten anxiety in the population via terror alerts is dystopian but somehow distant; the concrete reality that the UK Government and its ‘Behavioural Insights Team’ attunes policy to ‘unconscious processing systems’ (Pykett 2013a) has a sobering proximity that brings closer the spectre of populations under the pre-conscious sway of governments. This might be an exaggeration, perhaps, but only one of degree rather than quality: the British Government is seen as a ‘world leader’ at attuning policy to type 1 thinking such that it is now exporting the Behavioural Insights Team blueprint to Australian and Canadian policy making counterparts (ibid.). This moves inquiry somewhere beyond speculation and may allow a degree of surety where research considers the associations between neoliberalism, power and the affects that weave through social lives.

In this light Government designs on subjectivity such as global citizenship invite critical attention that is made sensitive to ‘life itself’ as the ‘object-target’ of intervention (Anderson 2012). Without the obvious visceral experience of terror, anger or exhilaration, the affective draw to global citizenship on the ICS programme is – it seems likely – a cumulative process of subtle “nudges”, each moving bodies closer to take up a prescribed subject position. This cumulative and sensory world is one decidedly difficult to pick apart. What is particularly difficult to separate comes out of neoliberalism’s flexibility (1.3; 2.2) and its consequent capacity, as Wanda Vradi has put it, ‘to put forth *credible* affective structures and the ability of individuals to derive *genuine* pleasure from them’ (2011, original emphasis). This is especially pertinent as we recognise on the one hand the ICS appeal to collective ideas of greater justice while simultaneously modelling volunteers on strongly neoliberalised ideals of competitive self-actualisation. As we have seen in the previous Chapter, Government discourse on global citizenship is able to negotiate this bind through

an - albeit limited - appeal to the “critically-minded” global citizen. In this chapter the world unfolds *before* critical thinking and inquiry centres on the draw of global citizenship that plays out directly on the sensing body.

The interest here then is to depart from the conclusion of the previous Chapter - that the ICS programme offers a distinctly neoliberalised mode of global citizenship - and examine the ways in which volunteers are “nudged” into this subject position by affective means. The discussion is formed of two parts. The first considers Development as part of what Ben Anderson has termed the ‘affective fabric of contemporary Western everyday life’ (2006, 733) that reverberates through cultural and societal forms - and consequently through the bodies of British people. Though this part of the chapter is theory-heavy, the data that is discussed comes from prominent elements of the representation of development in the media over recent years. Attention then turns to the British Government’s development imaginary, that discussed in the previous Chapter (2.1), except this time I provide a reading of its affective register. The result is an account of how the affects that weave through British culture remain in the constitution of bodies thus leaving them to conceive development in certain ways that cannot be separated from the neoliberal version of development discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.1). This is a significant undertaking that would perhaps make a book-length study; limited space here makes this account representative but not exhaustive.

The second part of the chapter focuses more closely on the affective aspects of ICS as a piece of UK Government policy and the way it plays to the disposition of bodies to feel certain affects. Affect here is more a technique of governance that moves to ‘grasp and to manipulate’ the ‘dynamism’ of the body (Clough 2008, 2). Using the same ICS marketing and training data as that in the previous Chapter I examine the ways that prospective volunteers may experience an affective pull towards participation on the programme. Splitting this part of the discussion into two sections I draw on two different approaches to the study of affect. First I take a neo-Darwinian perspective from which, as identified by Nigel Thrift, affects are communicated via ‘deep-seated physiological change written involuntarily on the face’ (2004a, 64). Making use of research in the field of psychology on facial expression I provide an analysis of the imagery used in the promotion of ICS. The second approach comes out of Brian Massumi’s reading of the Spinozan-Deleuzian notion of affect as a constant emergence (1992; 2002) and the influence it has had in recent work in human geography on ‘affective futures’ (Anderson 2006; 2007; 2010; Latham and Conradson 2003; Massumi 2005). This work comes into a discussion of the ‘project of the

self' element of global citizenship and its circulation of potent future-orientated affects such as hope and fear.

The chapter explores the idea that affects to do with development reverberate through the media to render a public disposed to respond. The case is made that the response cannot be separated from neoliberal power and that the ICS programme works on a pre-cognisant level to activate responses through the call to take up global citizenship.

## 4.2 Society of affect

The atmosphere in which we live, weighs upon everyone  
with a 20,000-pound force, but do you feel it?  
Karl Marx 1978

The intention here is to pick up a thread running through work on affect to do with the affective register of cultural and social life. Attending to this “affective fabric”, academic research has developed an understanding of the disposition to act in correspondence to the affects that weave through cultural and social forms. Critical attention in the social sciences has fallen on the circulation of affects in society and the possibility that through their ‘push’ on the body ‘masses of people become primed to act’ (Thrift 2007, 26). This is a phenomenon not readily expressed in words and different metaphors have been used to conceptualise the circulation of affect in this way. For instance Thrift has referred to cultural life as a ‘human sensorium’ through which pass ‘affective contagions’ (ibid.). ‘Affective fabric’ is used by Anderson to describe that aspect of life that emerges through ‘affective atmospheres’ that ‘envelop’ and ‘press on society ‘from all sides” (2009, 78). Brian Massumi, another important figure in the study of affect, imagines our ‘affective attunement’ as a population and the ways that, viewed as a biomass, we are a ‘distributed neuronal network’ (2005, 32). Whatever the metaphor – sensorium, atmosphere, neuronal network - the common theme is that cultural life is qualitatively affective and bodies within are responsive and altered accordingly.

Shared also is a conviction that cultural life is not only qualitatively affective but that it is, with the proliferation of new technologies, quantitatively *more* affective in its contemporary form. Massumi refers to postmodern theorists to argue that this is a period in which our sensory worlds are saturated with a spectacle of affect. For example, the ‘cultural logic’ of late capitalism, Fredric Jameson argued thirty years ago, comprises a ‘media spectacle’ that brings ‘heightened intensity, bearing a mysterious charge of affect’ (1984, 73). Likewise Guy Debord (1977) wrote of the ‘ecstasies’ and ‘convulsions’ induced by “spectacle” and imagery’s affective appeal to, as Jean Baudrillard put it, ‘our primal

scene' (2003). While no unified understanding comes out of these and other texts on spectacle, common to each is a perception that the visual nature of the media communicates directly with the body via particularly intense emissions of affect. There is a definite conviction, too, that media affects are not only representative reflections of the world but that they are constitutive of both it and the bodies contained within, and that therefore something of the media spectacle's appeal to 'our primal scene' brings the imagery into the body, to make it part of our formation. It is to this constitutive quality that Massumi refers when he concludes: our 'information- and image-based late-capitalist culture' and the '*primacy of the affective* in image reception' has meant that 'our condition is characterised by a surfeit of [affect]' (1995, 84, 88, original emphasis).

If we accept and expand on these theoretical positions, cultural artefacts begin to reveal their use of affect; the fervour of an Apple launch, the sentimentality of a Coca-Cola advertisement, or the targeted arousal of an underwear billboard. Each presents some of the ways that affects are put to work contagiously through social life. Through these uncomplicated examples we begin to see the association between capitalism, imagery and engineered affective responses. All cultures with access to iPhones instinctively "know" to appreciate their aesthetic pleasure while simultaneously "know" to disembody any empathetic relations with the poorly paid workers on the assembly line. We are encouraged to feel sentimental for the man drinking Coca Cola with his Father and we are supposed to feel aroused by or envious of the image on a Wonderbra billboard - but no disgust (an emotion tied to powerful affects) at either the obvious corporate contrivance or the gendered objectification embedded into the images. In other words, affective responses are both powerful and manipulated in many cases, and the short examples here begin to get at the ways that affects circulate visually in ways that reinforce rather than challenge dominant orders.

This brings us to the issue of power and its position within an affect-rich media spectacle. That we commonly conceive power as dispersed and fragmentary means we cannot draw straight lines between cultural objects as sources or exponents of power. At the same time however - and this is central to the writing of Baudrillard, Jameson and Debord - the proliferation of mediated worlds in contemporary culture cannot be considered without recognising the "realities" they communicate and their complaisance with power. For figures such as Baudrillard *et al.*, it is rare that popular discourses and media images challenge dominant views, instead they feed off and into social life so that it

too is brought within a trajectory of power. This view of cultural output, its affects and their relations to power is expressed well by Eva Illouz who describes

a culture in which the affective discourses and practices and economic shape each other, thereby producing what I see as a broad and comprehensive movement in which affection becomes an essential aspect of the economic behaviour, and in which the emotional life - especially the middle class - follows the logic of economic relations and trade. (2011, 12, translated in Facioli 2012, 199)

The impulsion from here is to draw attention to the potency of the mediation of information and its concomitant affective registers. Existing work on fear (Massumi 2005), happiness (Ahmed 2010) and hope (Anderson 2006) leads the way in this task. Each of these accounts takes a wide lens view of affective registers to explicate the ways that affects reflect power in the media and how a population is altered accordingly.

This work informs the following account of the 'affective fabric' of British cultural life as it relates to international volunteering for development. The lens is wide, both spatially and temporally, but aims to keep in focus the cultural affects that resonate in bodies as they make choices to do with development and volunteering. The discussion centres on the media spectacle of development that has grown in prominence over the last thirty years. The argument is made that the British spectacle of development provides an important affective push for engagement with development issues such as that presented by the ICS programme.

#### 4.2.1 Seeds of despair: the affective spectacle of development

This is a story of a forgotten people in a lost land. The story of how hundreds of thousands died of starvation on a planet choked with food. Of tyranny and neglect. Yet it's also a story of how three million Iron Age families were saved by the power of television. By our shame that made us feel their pain in a way that's never happened before and has never happened since. (Buerk 2004)

Beginning in 1982 the RRC (Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission), the International Disasters Institute and various British aid agencies began to warn of impending humanitarian disaster in Northern Ethiopia (Magistad 1986). We, the British public, knew that millions were suffering and that thousands were dying, but action remained minimal. Then on 23 October 1984 the BBC news reader Julia Somerville, flanked by an image of a mother and baby, introduced a report on the worsening situation in Kormela, Ethiopia. The now famous report brought to us this suffering in its inhumane rawness.

In a solemn voice Michael Buerk's accompanies a sweeping image of a desert landscape populated by hundreds of seemingly inanimate bodies.



fig 4.1

Buerk begins:

“Dawn. And as the sun breaks through the piercing chill of night on the plain outside Korem, it lights up a biblical famine – now, in the twentieth century. This place, say workers here, is the closest thing to hell on earth. Thousands of wasted people are coming here for help. Many find only death ...

It is immediately clear that this is not the usual banal “and finally..”; the images hit hard and Buerk’s commentary is sombre and deliberate. The commentary situates Korem beyond the limits of imagination, beyond the earthly world, it is simultaneously ‘biblical’ and ‘hell[ish]’. Human bodies are ‘wasted’; there is no help here, only death. At three minutes and 41 seconds into the broadcast the images come from inside a makeshift shelter and Buerk begins to speak of the worst affected:



fig 4.2

“Some of the very worst are packed into big sheds 7,000 now most apparently dying of malnutrition, pneumonia and the diseases that prey on the starving ...



The images and narrative are now firmly focused on children. At 3m 43s the camera rests on this child. Buerk falls silent and slowly the camera zooms in and holds the frame for three seconds:



3m 43s



3m 46s

fig 4.3

Without the guidance of the journalist's voice we are left with the raw images of suffering. The seconds are long and this fellow human being – a baby – for those moments is a felt presence in millions of British living rooms. Even three decades later the images retain their ability to move. At 3m 49s comes another, this moves into an even higher affective register:



fig 4.4

Dropping to a new level of solemnity, Michael Buerk tells us

“this three year old girl was beyond any help. Unable to take food, attached to a drip but too late the drip was taken away ... only minutes later while we were filming she died. Her mother had lost all her four children and her husband.”

The frame cuts to her grieving mother, the camera’s light reflected in a stream of tears:



fig 4.5

Through these images we came to know about the famine in Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup>

The BBC’s report eventually ran on 425 news channels and reached an estimated 470 million people across the globe (Franks 2006). On receiving the footage, one NBC executive reported ‘tears just came to your eyes and you felt you had just been hit in the stomach’ (Paul Greenberg quoted in Buerk 2004, 295). It would later be labelled ‘the most famous and influential humanitarian recording in history’ (Vaux 2001, 52). Buerk’s report was an extraordinary piece of visceral broadcasting that provoked ‘a surge of generosity’ as more than £100m was quickly donated to the relief appeal. The month following the report Russell Johnston MP stated in parliament:

The entire aid world has been screaming from the rooftops for the last eighteen months that what has happened in Ethiopia was about to occur, yet it was only when we saw it in colour on the screens in our living rooms that the Government acted. (*Hansard*, 68 1984-85, 22 November 1984, 418 cited in Philo 1993)

<sup>1</sup> A high quality stream of the report is available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYOj\\_6OYuJc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYOj_6OYuJc) [last accessed 14.04.2014].



One person watching the ‘haunting and powerful images’ (Neil, cited in Franks 2006) was the musician Bob Geldof who was moved to set up Band Aid in the build up to Christmas 1984 and in the following summer led the organisation of the Live Aid concerts. Band Aid carried the emotional energy of the now daily coverage of the famine. It was branded “With Love from Band Aid” and became part of that Autumn’s blanket coverage of the worsening famine, in ‘a mediated spectacle’ rich in ‘affective intensity’ (Lousley 2013, 9). Again, this was image-based with a focus on the wasted bodies of young Ethiopians, the best remembered of these is that of Birhan Woldu whose image (fig 4.6) was shown at the 1985 concert at Wembley Stadium. Her face became symbolic of the suffering of the Ethiopian people; its ‘somatic form’ worked ‘to place viewers in an affective relationship with the subject’ (Campbell 2011, 15). At the concert itself emotion ran particularly high where Bob Geldof (fig 4.7) - a figure attuned to ‘sensibility and affect’ (Gopal 2006) - famously demanded “give us your fucking money!”.<sup>2</sup> These media events firmly situated images of starving Ethiopia as ‘part of the global consciousness’ (Westley 1991) as screens around the country were suddenly populated by wide eyes, emaciated bodies and pot-bellies (*Kwashiorkor*).

Even now, re-covering events - writing and reading this account - one senses how this imagery of development acted as an ‘important “trigger” to affect’ (ibid., 1035). From the distance of thirty years it is still possible to appreciate, and feel, the ways that the media coverage of the Ethiopian famine and the subsequent media events of Band Aid and Live



fig 4.6

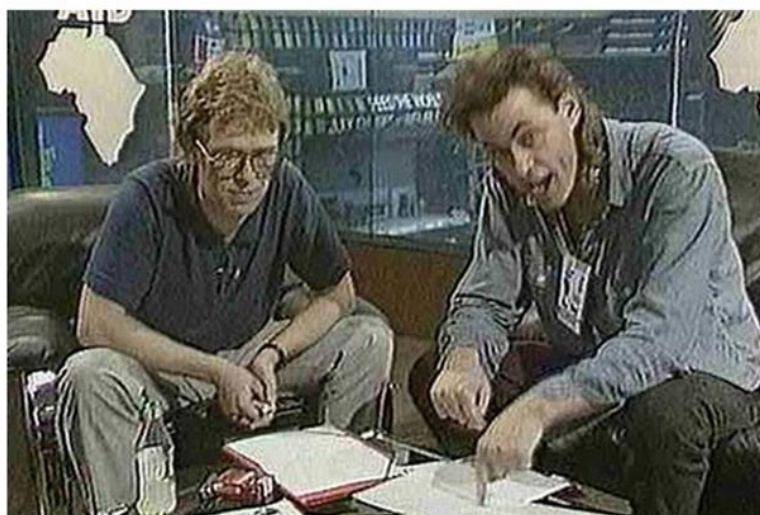


fig 4.7

<sup>2</sup> It is contested whether Geldof actually said these words on air. It has however entered into modern folklore, appearing on countless websites on myth and legend and generating more than 32 million results on google. In an aside that supports the wider argument made here, David Hepworth, one of the BBC’s presenters at the Live Aid concert recounts: ‘in the years that followed I’ve been engaged in that same conversation all over the world. The people who are convinced that Geldof said “Give us your fucking money” range from those who claim to have watched every second of the broadcast to *people not even born at the time*’ (*The Mirror* 2010, my emphasis). The story therefore – albeit anecdotally – evidences a lingering energy of the phrase that has passed through generations.

Aid brought households into an ‘affective intimacy’ with distant Others that pushed British people to participate in ‘affective social practices’ such as campaigning and donating (Lousley 2013). With this the tone was very much set for the presentation of development issues in British media that prevail to this day.

Post-Live Aid, Comic Relief began to provide a biannual reminder and fulfilment of this new-found and globally distributed affective bond. In a similar way to its precedent, Comic Relief worked to ‘stimulate compassion, sympathy, a sense of justice or even of anger [and] something about hope’ (Green and Silk 2000, 321). At around this time repeated appeals from Oxfam, Christian Aid and countless others began to deploy ‘emotive images, particularly of children in distress, to raise funds’ (New Int, cited in Manzo 2006, 9) thereby reinforcing the affective push of development in British minds. The spectacle reached its apotheosis in 2005 with Live8 and the “Make Poverty History” campaign. In a more connected world, the entire event was planned, choreographed and broadcast, in contrast to its predecessor, not to raise money but to raise awareness. That is, to enter the hearts and minds of those watching. One moment that came to symbolise the concert in Hyde Park and the entire movement was the reappearance of a now healthy and successful Birhan Woldu on stage with Madonna (fig 4.8). The media coverage of this and the concert in general presented ‘a positive and much more hopeful image of the developing world’ ensuring an ‘uplifting and emotional’ portrayal of development issues (Smith et al. 2006, 7). Once again poverty and development came to us in an affective register to ensure that development issues remain ‘top of mind and maintain a powerful grip on the British psyche’ (VSO 2002).

This ‘grip’ on our collective psyche is testament to the playing out of development in British public life as replete with affective and emotional figures. From dying bodies of babies and the anxiety of preventable diseases to the hope of “doing good” through humanitarian responses, our shared experience of development is corporeal: an affective response to an affecting spectacle. As flickers and feelings this response exceeds the moments such that the ephemeral images enter the body, leaving ‘a



fig 4.8

trace within our constitution' (Al-Saji 2000, 56). This is an important point. William Connolly conceptualises such traces as deposits in "affectively imbued memory banks" [that] might later yet encourage a disciplined train of thought' (2002, 71) while Massumi notes 'the body's movements [retain] a kind of depth that stays with it across all its transitions - accumulating in memory, in habit, in reflex, in desire, in *tendency*' (2002, 213, original emphasis). The possibility of such traces, memory banks and tendencies brings to light the relevance of the mediated transmission of development for the ICS programme and its promotion of global citizenship. The evocative 'trace' left by years of living in and being formed by affective imaginaries of development might be one that predisposes us to be drawn to development work and, by extension, volunteering on ICS and global citizenship. What remains is to examine the ways that this affective trace might relate to different iterations of global citizenship. The following section turns attention to this question.

#### 4.2.2 The political affects of the development spectacle

Through the affective register of the post-1984 media coverage of development, the public has been brought closer to the realities faced by a large portion of the world's population. The visceral power of that 1984 broadcast stayed with us, and set the tone for the retelling of development in subsequent media events. The form has intensified further over the years - bigger and more screens, fewer words - as has the content - higher definition images, more suffering (infant) bodies - which has, in turn, intensified further the public's experience of development as an affective form. Therefore to live within this cultural sensorium is to bear witness to intense representations of development realities which triggers, in turn, corresponding affected responses. To an extent these are unknown, but a recurring response in the British public, as evidenced in the overwhelming show of compassionate humanitarianism (Vaux 2001), has been one of shock and discomfort and the associated emotional response of empathy. This is central to understanding the significance of the media's affective transmission of development and the ways it connects to this research on ICS and global citizenship.

During the famine in Ethiopia, as Russell Johnston MP (along with many others (Magstad (1986)) noted, it was not until still and video images were proliferated that public sentiment and subsequent action arose. Donations, concerts and campaigns were pushed along by and carried within them the affective energy transmitted in that first and subsequent broadcasts. Though there is an obvious element of the public processing the famine on a cognitive level, it is also the case that the sheer viscosity of the presentation

of suffering provoked, as Jenny Edkins has noted, ‘a short-term, *unthinking* emotional response’ (2000, 103, my emphasis). This would suggest a connection between the embodied - ‘unthinking’ - response to the mediated imagery and the subsequent heightened levels of public sentiment and action in the form of making donations. Brief recourse to related literatures in the field of psychology strengthens this suggestion. For instance Stephan Dickert and colleagues found that people are more likely to donate when information ‘fosters concrete mental images’ because ‘affective reactions’ impress on minds more than ‘abstract’ (textual) representations (2009, 362). Similarly, Dolf Zillmann has observed that affective images result in people ‘feeling with’ or ‘feeling for’ others and experiencing empathetic bodily responses that ‘foster a deeper understanding’ and ‘inspire supportive actions’ (2006, 151). With confidence, then, we can make connections between the embodied response to witnessing poverty via the media and subsequent, and cognisant, motivations to act.

There is within this process a passage between pre-cognitive and cognitive thinking (the sense that affects push on reflexive thought) that brings us to a concern hinted at by Zillmann above to do with affect precipitating a ‘deeper understanding’, and the role that affects play in producing (reflexive) knowledge. The question arises: what forms of knowledge are produced by the affective mediation of development and how do they relate to different iterations of global citizenship? Response to this question begins with returning to the ideas discussed at the beginning of the chapter in which media affects are perceived as an(other) expression of power that works to perpetuate - and not challenge - dominant forms. Applying this to the case of the British media’s portrayal of development, academics have recognised the undoubted pervasiveness of affect and critically examined a relationship between embodied experience and more reflective knowledges of development. For instance, Cheryl Lousley tracks Band Aid’s evocation of globalism to show ‘an open, barrier free, affective economy of love and cooperation’ that brought the public to participate in ‘good-feeling social action’ (2013, 10). In this way, Lousley argues, the anxiety rooted in the affective presence of starving Ethiopians could be partly exorcised by donating to the cause. Though by no means an indiscretion, as Lousley goes on to argue, donating offers a specific type of (dis)engagement whereby associated good feelings ‘offer affective intensity by bracketing historical contextualisation and social and cultural difference’ (ibid., 8-9).

Similarly Graham Harrison and Kate Nash have both pointed out that representations of development have conflated emotional aspects with a poignant media

performance of ‘British Civic Humanitarianism’ (Harrison 2010). For Harrison there is a duality where such emotional representations put us in ‘emotional continuity’ not only with the poor Other, but also with one another, giving rise to a sense of Britishness held together through an evocative sense of pride and “doing good”. Nash, picking up this point in a discussion of Live8, points out that the event was ‘constructed as dramatic, intended to elicit strong emotions and to create emotional involvement’ (2008, 11). This emotional involvement, Nash argues, was imagined in a very specific way: ‘there was a very explicit strategy to elicit pride and joy, feelings of empowerment, rather than shame and guilt. The appropriate feeling solicited was righteous anger; you are part of the solution, not part of the problem’ (ibid.). Not only does this return us to the recurrent themes of disengaged and depoliticised development imaginaries but it also introduces a reinforcement of these themes in the styling of a British public as a ‘proud’, ‘humanitarian’ actor in development (3.2.1). While this connection might only be made tentatively, we can be more certain in noting what is foreclosed in the affective mediation of British humanitarianism noted by academics such as Lousley, Harrison and Nash: the same critical perspectives on Western development practices that are excluded as those absent from the British Government’s (discursive) construction of development discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.1). This is significant and it brings the discussion to some important ways in which we can conceptualise the role of the media spectacle of development in the current Government’s positioning of volunteers as global citizens.

On large-scale events such as Band Aid and Live Aid, April Biccum has argued that they offer ‘a participatory and performative mass commodity spectacle’ that engages as ‘a hegemonic battle for ‘hearts and minds’” (2005, 1121). If we recall some of the prominent themes of the British Government’s neoliberalised development imaginary identified in Chapter 3 we can begin to appreciate the power - or as Biccum has it, ‘hegemony’ - that seems to “cut the cloth” of this affective fabric. The affective repertoire of the mediation of development does nothing to provide alternative views on (let alone challenge) any of the prominent aspects of the status quo: the tendency to depoliticise, dehistoricise and moralise is left unquestioned. For instance, the way that the media empathetically position the British public as a legitimate solution to a gross mismatch in development *before* it looks to international trade imbalance or debt interest repayments is testament to where our feelings are directed. Anger at the horror of it all, perhaps; while anger at the continuing practices of dependency does not even register on the affective experiences of development brought into our lives by the media.

At this the potential of affect as a tool of power, and its trace in the last thirty years of media representations of development, becomes clear. Certain affects render bodies disposed to act in ways not entirely independent of power and even a restrained conclusion must acknowledge that the spectacle of development in the UK is in some way inside all of us in unpredictable but engineered ways. It follows that the contribution made by the affective experience of development in British cultural life to matters of global citizenship is one consonant with - and not, the evidence here indicates, challenging of - the Government's own construction of global citizenship on the ICS programme. That is, even before we turn to affects more closely associated with the Government and the ICS programme, there is the distinct sense that potential volunteers are already affectively constituted to take up global citizenship on the Government's (neoliberalised) terms. Attention now turns to the British Government, its wider policy strategy and its specific policy on development to consider its place in this affective evocation of development.

### 4.3 UK Government and MINDSPACE

Before moving on to consider affect and British policy on development, it is important to draw attention to the Government's involvement in the "new brain-world" of policy making and its targeting of a 'post-rational human subject' (Jones et al. 2011). The UK Government trains policy makers to market and implement strategies in a way that is sensitive to affect. In 2011 it set up the Behavioural Insights Team (commonly referred to as the "Nudge Unit") with the remit to explore the ways that 'emotional responses to words, images and events' can be used to effect 'behavioural reactions' and 'changing minds' (Dolan et al. 2012). In the form of an acronym "MINDSPACE"<sup>3</sup> the Cabinet Office has circulated literature on the ways policy makers can tap into "type 1 thinking" – that which takes place automatically, uncontrollably and instinctively (Thaler and Sunstein 2009). In this literature, Departmental policy makers are asked to use 'social marketing', an advertising method that uses 'commercial marketing techniques to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences' (Cabinet Office 2010, 30). Both affect and emotion are viewed as central to this approach:

[m]any social marketing campaigns have used the power of affect or emotion to stimulate behaviour change. Drink driving and seatbelt awareness campaigns are good examples of where social marketing campaigns have played a part in significantly changing behaviour. *Social marketing that draws on the power of affect could be used to encourage*

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<sup>3</sup> Messenger, Incentives, Norms, Defaults, Salience, Priming, Affect, Commitment, Ego.



*other pro-social behaviours such as blood donation and community volunteering.* (ibid., my emphasis)

Senior civil servants take quite seriously this focus on ‘the power of affect’. This is from an interview with Geoff Mulgan, the former Director of the Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit:

[i]n some ways the most challenging and fascinating stuff in this whole territory [of behaviour change] is once you start asking how do you influence essentially the policy not only of a rational Government, *but also unconscious processing systems.* (Geoff Mulgan, former Cabinet Office policy strategist, quoted in Pykett 2013b, my emphasis)

Beyond the fairly uncontroversial issues of encouraging safer driving practices – and of obvious relevance to this study – is the conviction above that the ‘power of affect’ can be deployed to promote other ‘pro-social behaviours’, one example being ‘community volunteering’. Put it together with senior policy makers explicitly aiming to ‘influence [...] unconscious processing systems’ and the Big Society and ICS come under a new light. In this light there comes into view the very real possibility that elements of the agenda and the programme ‘use’ (a verb not distinct from ‘engineer’ or ‘manipulate’ in this context) affect to push subjects in desirable directions. It is not inconceivable that one of these directions involves active citizenship. There is, it would seem, a drive from within Government to speak to us all subconsciously and precognitively – to our *unconscious processing systems* – in a way that appeals to our instincts, passions and fears.

The chapter now turns to focus on the Government’s policy on development to examine how it might communicate via ‘the power of affect’ to theorise what this might mean for global citizenship.



fig 4.9

#### 4.4 The Coalition, affective government and the development spectacle

The Conservative-led Government has prioritised development and amid widespread cuts to public spending has ring-fenced - and increased - the development budget. Though the reasons behind this are predictably contested (Gulrajani 2010; *Telegraph* 2013) the Government is consistent in its justification for the prioritisation of international development: for respective ‘moral’ and ‘hard-headed’ reasons, DfID’s work is cited as both ethically responsible and economically prudent (Cameron 2011; 1.2.1). As much is to be expected from a centre-right Government, more of note in the context of this study however is the affective register in which the Conservative Party presents its development strategy. For instance, in a Green Paper written shortly before the 2009 election, *One World Conservatism* (2009) justifies prioritisation of international development through conspicuously emotive statistics:

9.2 million children die before the age of five each year. Two million die on the day they are born – and 500,000 women die at childbirth. A third of children in Africa suffer brain damage as a result of malnutrition. 72 million children are missing out on an education. Every day 30,000 children die from easily preventable diseases. That’s 21 children every minute. Thirty three million people are infected with HIV/AIDS. There are 11 million AIDS orphans in Africa. Every hour, 3,000 people become infected with HIV and 225 people die from AIDS [...] and 25 of these are children. (Conservative Party 2009c, 8)

After the election this focus on children continued with the Prime Minister writing evocatively in *The Guardian*: ‘in the time it takes to read this article, 15 children in the world’s poorest countries will die from a preventable disease like diarrhoea or pneumonia. We would not stand for that at home’ (Cameron 2011). Immediately clear - and *felt* - in these constructions is the presence of affects such as ‘sadness’, ‘empathy’, perhaps ‘anger’ through a series of, what Joanne Sharp and her colleagues label “suffering statistics” that are specifically ‘aimed at igniting compassion’ (2010, 1130). It cannot pass unnoticed either the similarity here between the *One World Conservatism* paper, David Cameron’s words and the famous 2005 “click advert” in which the voiceover asks over images of too-familiarly emaciated bodies: “A child dies every three seconds of extreme poverty. And you? What are you doing?” before cutting to celebrities clicking their fingers (fig 4.10).<sup>4</sup>

The advert’s use of celebrity is criticised for its directing of ‘compassion towards a certain type of innocent victim rather than on solidarity’ that ‘centres on the mobilisation of empathy rather than the recognition of rights’ (Müller 2013, 471). The Government’s

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<sup>4</sup> A high quality stream of the advert is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmJFJZdS-D0> [last accessed 18.05.2014]



reproduction of this ties it in closely with the media spectacle and its specifically (a)political affects discussed above (4.2.2). This tie is reinforced in *One World Conservatism* where it also makes a direct address to our pre-cognitive, pre-rational selves. The following passage, for example, makes an appeal aimed squarely at our instincts and imagines the public into affective bonds:

How could this have been tolerated? Our grandchildren will ask us: what did *you* do to help tackle poverty? They will wonder at the absurdity of a world that could put men on the moon, but still let millions of people suffer and die from easily-preventable diseases. (Conservative Party 2009c, 8, my emphasis)

Aside from the obvious rhetorical discursive figures, the appeal here is firmly centred on the precognitive realm of familial bonds: who is to say what minor yet relevant neural pathways are activated on reading this? And it is exactly the same affective address as that empathetic but ultimately depoliticising address made by the Live8 click advert: “And you? What are you doing?” It invokes pity rather than anger, and elicits donations rather than demands for greater justice - and it is an aesthetic followed by both the spectacle of development and this aspect of the Government’s development imaginary (Müller 2013).

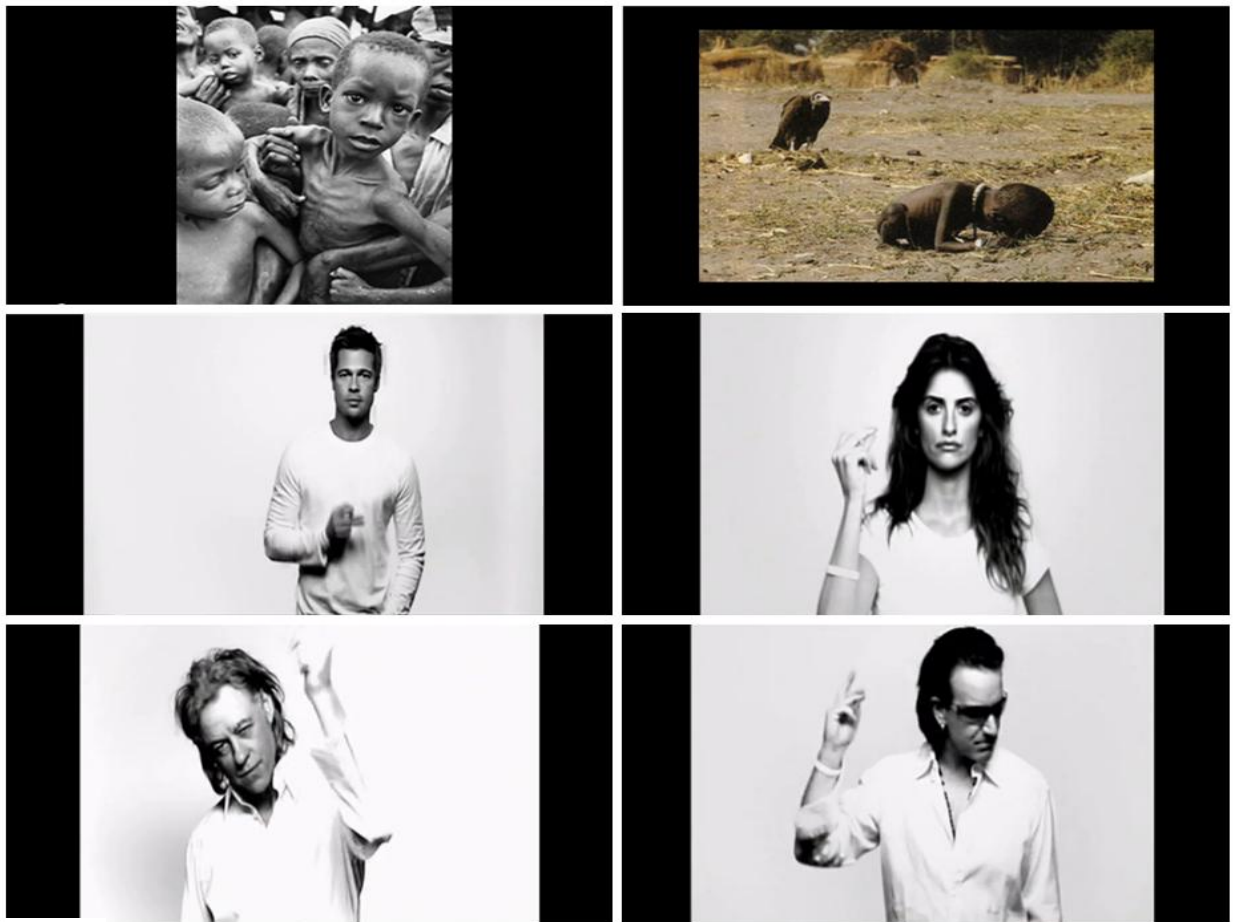


fig 4.10

As the text progresses these bonds are extended across space – while still carrying some of the familial/instinctive energy – to evoke an unsettling proximity to ‘strangers’ we know as ordinarily so ‘distant’:

Every time the candle of light is snuffed out by disease, we all suffer. Every time ignorance triumphs over enlightenment, we are all made injured. Every time a child is born into a cycle of poverty, we are all made poorer. (Conservative Party 2009c, 8)

A distinct turn to literary figures and a rhetorical practice of ‘rule of three’ maximises the impact of these images. This conflates the intensities of familial bonds by projecting them Southwards onto dying children. Within this, of course, is an innate sense of anxiety both at *their* suffering and *our* inaction. Compounding this affective passage of fear is the somewhat incongruous but potent recurrent reference to terrorism in relation to development:

Poverty breeds extremism, incubates disease and drives migration and conflict. Instability around the world threatens us all [...] So tackling poverty and deprivation is not just a moral duty, it is also in our very best national interest. (ibid.)

In Afghanistan and Pakistan the confluence of our moral commitment to development and our national interest is particularly clear. Building the capacity of the state in both countries to guarantee security and stability, deliver development and reduce poverty is absolutely central to defeating violent extremism and protecting British streets. (ibid., 47)

Again this is later echoed by David Cameron:

Meeting our international aid commitments is profoundly in our own national interest. If we invest in countries before they become broken, we might not end up spending so much on the problems that result. If we had put a fraction of our current military spending on Afghanistan into helping Afghanistan develop 20 years ago, just think what we might have been able to avoid over the past decade. (Cameron 2011)

The world is rendered here as ‘unstable’, ‘violent’ and ‘extreme’ and the British public is explicitly positioned in this world as ‘threatened’ in a configuration that remains unresolved and without a certain end – apart from the policy presented by the Government. Though intellectually disparate, the revisited themes of ‘dying children’ and ‘violent extremism’ communicate to a body that does not discriminate. Instead each repeated image resonates through the flesh, fear especially as it ‘strikes the nervous system with a directness’ that ‘compels the body to action’ (Massumi 2005).

While recognising that affects are not unproblematically ascribed to political formations, there is a large amount of evidence here that makes associations between the two more than merely consequential. Within this admittedly limited sample there is an affective element to the way that the Government presents development to the public. This would seem to be consistent with the MINDSPACE mandate for policy makers to ‘draw

on the power of affect'. Tellingly, there is a contingency with the media spectacle discussed above: just as the image-rich media places the public in affective relationships with the poor South, so too does the evocative development discourse circulated by the Coalition Government. Once again, nowhere are the affective figures allowed to convalesce with critical perspectives on development; instead the discourse directs action based on 'moral duties', 'national interest' and 'guarantee[ing] security'. This would suggest that affective energies are mobilised in the interests of Government development policy. It may not be too strong an assertion therefore to theorise that affects are circulated to elicit embodied responses that acquiesce to neoliberalised approaches such as strategies for growth and securitisation of poor areas of the world. While perhaps this approaches the limit of the association of power and affect, there is certainly nothing within this version of development – nor that of the media – that brings together embodied responses and a heightened consciousness of the North's continued dominance over the South. In this affective world, rather, social action is refigured as donating, supporting "approved" (that is, *tamed*) mass media campaigns<sup>5</sup> or, quite possibly, volunteering to 'fight global poverty'.

#### 4.5 The affective promotion of global citizenship on the ICS programme

The discussion to this point has sought to recount the ways that international development circulates through British society as an affective form. Beginning with an account of the representation of development in the media and adding to that a reading of the Government's development imaginary, the case is put that development is a rich site of affect in British public life. It is also argued that at this site affects work to foreground and foreclose different responses in concert with the British Government's neoliberalised development imaginary. The corollary for citizens is twofold: first we are all primed to respond to evocations of development and second, our move to respond is directed to legitimised forms of response. None of the connections can be made definite, of course, but the evidence is indicative: the affective role of development is consonant and complementary to the neoliberal version of development associated with the ICS programme so far in this study. The potential consequence of this is great: those of us, as members of the British public who might be prospective volunteers for international development, having grown up in this neoliberalised affective fabric, are 'primed to act' when called upon (Thrift 2007, 26). That is, our shared embodied knowledge of development is inseparable from expressions of neoliberal power. All that is left is for the

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<sup>5</sup> For instance, on Make Poverty History, Kate Nash recounts how Tony Blair and Gordon Brown 'managed to position themselves as the leaders of the campaign and were widely supported as such in the UK media' (2008, 14).

Government to devise a programme designed to tune into this embodied knowledge to capitalise on our ready propensity to take up a neoliberalised “soft” notion of global citizenship. Taking this possibility seriously, this final section of the chapter focuses closely on the ICS programme to explore the ways it is equipped to tap into our apparent propensity to respond to development on a pre-cognitive level in a circumscribed way.

The discussion is ordered in two sections, the first focuses on the use of affective (and affecting) imagery while the second considers the future as an affective form that unfolds in the present. Both sections analyse the material produced by DfID to promote ICS.

#### 4.5.1 The affective (Darwinian) body and ICS imagery: smiles and children

Screens, patches of moving light populated chiefly by faces, have increasingly become a ubiquitous and normal means of expression, populating more and more urban spaces and producing a postsocial world in which *faces loom larger than life*. (Balazs 1970, 27)

Common to post-structural perspectives on photographic imagery is the notion that content not only represents the world but is constitutive of it. This performative function draws the viewer into images, making meanings unfixed as they continually ‘conjure the world into being again and again’ (Rycroft 2005, 355). These emergent worlds exist beyond the observable objects of semiotics and enter into an always indeterminate affective relationship with the viewing body: ‘the image is never stable, fixed or truly arrested but rather always in between movement and rest, and always capable of affecting or being affected’ (Rio 2005, 73). The viewer’s presence and interaction with the image is thus conceived at a personal, “fleshy” level - ‘to look is to have one’s affective state changed’ – that therefore lends a certain power to photography to ‘send people along emotive pathways’ (Joffe 2008, 86). It follows that images are, from this perspective, understood as “lively” and their life passes from paper (screen) to a viewing subject in a co-constitutive process in which both bodies (of the viewer and photograph) are *both* affected and affecting. This conviction has so far been an undercurrent of the present discussion in the assumption that the image-rich media narrative of development since 1984 has brought to bear on the public affects associated with ‘emotive pathways’ that are, in turn, associated with the Government’s (neoliberalised) approaches to development. The case is made that these associations dispose bodies ready to act. To move the discussion on here I use photographic examples from the promotion of the ICS programme to elaborate on the ways that affects pass between bodies and images so that we might understand how the

global citizenship of ICS is pushed along by the same (or similar) affective processes discussed to this point.

DfID's promotional material of the ICS programme is largely web-based and, given the form and target group, the content is unsurprisingly visually appealing. The programme has widely followed facebook and twitter feeds where past, current and future volunteers can remain updated on ICS events such as reunions, advocacy and media coverage. For information on the programme and applications traffic is diverted to the official ICS website ([volunteerics.org](http://volunteerics.org)) which is managed by VSO and DfID. Each page on the website intersperses short passages of text with photographs. Some of these appear as background borders, others are more prominent. Below is a composite of each image on the website (fig 4.11) [collated February 2013], a total of thirteen images (two of which are video thumbnails), and one additional photograph from a recently added section of the site (fig 4.12) [accessed January 2014]. There is much we could draw from the images through content analysis, and a cursory inquiry would suggest that a postcolonial critique might be particularly insightful. It might also be commented that the abundance of smiling faces contributes to the "rolled up sleeves" banalisation of development discussed in the previous Chapter (3.2.1). Here, however, the focus is firmly on the body and the affective register of the images. If we take the photographs to be 'lively' there is much to be discussed. First and most obviously, that the images are all of smiling faces is significant. The face is regarded an important site for affect and a brief survey of related literatures helps to bear out its significance. Silvan Tomkins, a leading figure in the psychological study of affect, claimed: 'I have now come to regard the skin, in general, and the skin of the face in particular, as of the greatest importance in producing the feel of affect' (cited in Demos, 1995, 89). Following and elaborating on Tomkins, Daniel McNeill has also argued that 'the living face is the most important and mysterious surface we deal with [...] it can send messages too elusive for science' (2000, 4). Importantly, through these messages, McNeill argues, the face exercises a capacity to 'bewitch' and 'lure' other faces (*ibid.*). The photo below (fig 4.12) exemplifies such capacities. Aside from the warm smiles (notice too that of the girl in the background), to which the discussion returns below, there is the curious expression of the boy on the right. This is not an image without an emotional register or an affective quality and the capacity of the face to 'bewitch' and 'lure', I feel, really hits hard here. A few seconds looking at the photo and questions abound on what to make of this boy's expression; what kind of 'emotive pathways' it sends us down and what





fig 4.11

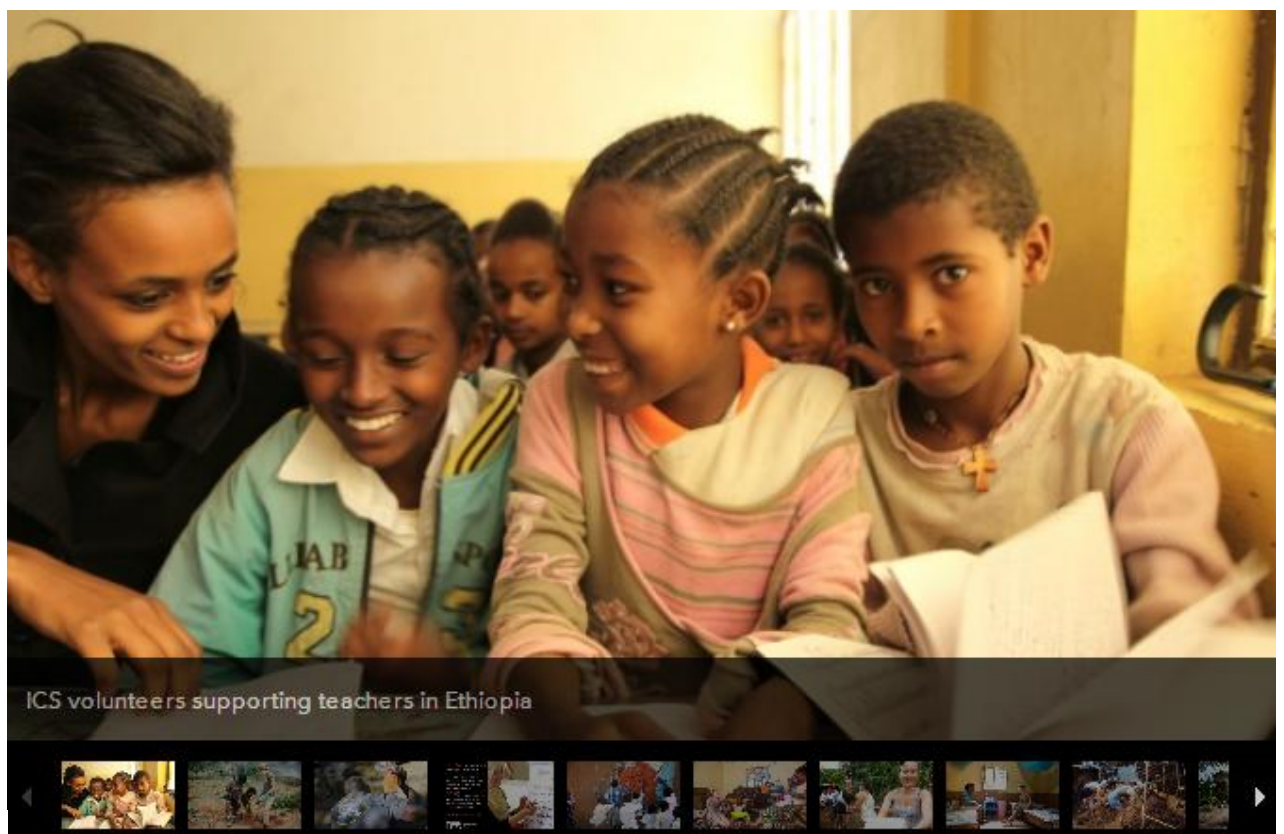


fig 4.12

it is that stays with us – resonates within the body – as we enter an affective exchange with the image. Predictably, hard and fast answers to these questions are not forthcoming. Though further recourse to psychological studies on Type 1 brain activity and facial expression helps shed light on both this (fig 4.12) and the composite image (fig 4.11). For instance, Ulf Dimberg and colleagues present evidence that ‘pictures of happy faces spontaneously evoke increased *zygomatic major* muscle activity [...] after only 500 ms of exposure’. These muscles are ‘consistently reported’ to ‘distinguish between positive and negative emotional reactions’ and critically the ‘automatic reaction, besides being spontaneous and rapid [...] can occur without attention or conscious awareness’ (2000, 2). Clinical psychologist, Eva Bänninger-Huber terms these processes ‘affective microsequences’ that

involve specific affect regulation repertoires in the nonverbal channel. An individual’s repertoire of affect regulation is expressed in the type of relationship he or she offers others. In other words, an individual evokes through his or her behaviour specific reactions, emotions, and fantasies in the partner. (1992, 513)

The end of this microsequence comes when another body establishes ‘a resonant affective state’ (ibid., 517); that is, when a facially expressed affect is mirrored in an interlocutor:

smiling and laughing are highly inductive processes that are used to establish *affective resonance* [...] smiling can be viewed as a thread of resonance running through the whole interaction in that it repeatedly communicated an emotional bond to the partner. Smiling can also contribute to the increase of affective relatedness, even if it has already disappeared from the face, in that the partner subsequently cognitively evaluates and stores the signal. (ibid., my emphasis)

Smiles, in other words, elicit smiles. And, significantly, these smiles ‘produce many of the changes in the brain that occur with enjoyment’ (Davidson et al. 1990, 2; Ekman and Davidson 1993). Bearing witness to emotional reaction, then, initiates an imitative but consonant and “truly felt” reaction. Our innate ‘facial deftness’ predisposes our bodies to undergo these affective exchanges with the faces of others (Thrift 2004a, 72-75). What is more, once we are aroused by emotion – though we may not know it – we enter a ‘hot state’ in which it is possible that ‘the reptilian brain takes over’ (Ariely 2009, 99). There is a lot of information to process here, but it leads the discussion to an insightful perspective on the images produced by DfID for the ICS programme.

Taking this back to the ICS website, there are 13 images on its 14 pages and in the images are depicted 23 faces each of which is smiling. The significance of this is, while unknowable, potentially great: when potential volunteers weigh up options they may do so in a slightly altered biological state. A large part of this rests on the candid nature of the

photos such that each of the faces displays a natural smile. This is more significant than at first might be thought. A natural smile is, apparently, marked when the *orbicularis oculi* (“natural” smiling muscles) are at work:

The emotion of frank joy is expressed on the face by the combined contraction of the *zygomatic major* muscle, and the *orbicularis oculi*. This first obeys the will but the second is only put in play by the sweet emotions of the soul. (Duchenne de Boulogne 1862, quoted in Ekman 2004, original emphasis)

The difference in the two kinds of smiles is striking:

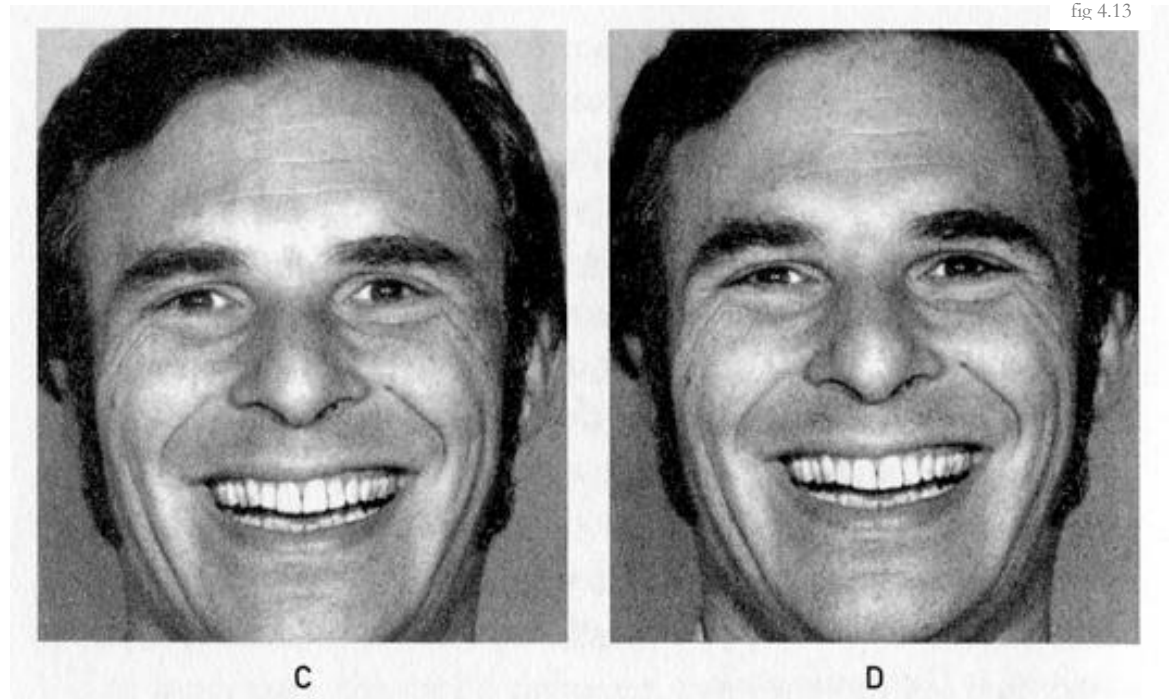


fig 4.13

In a study of the face and smiling Paul Ekman uses these images to distinguish a ‘true enjoyment smile’ from a ‘nonenjoyment smile’, the former cannot be reproduced at will (2004, 204-5). None of the photos above nor those below (fig 4.14), taken from an updated (January 2014) version of the website depicts smiles in which the *orbicularis oculi* are not contracted. To perceive this no technical analysis of muscular activity is needed. We instinctively see that there is an unforced quality to these photographic depictions of volunteering and global citizenship, and this quality communicates directly with the body. This is particularly pronounced in the enlarged image at the bottom of the second composite (fig 4.14) [compiled 1.3.2014]. If we define affect as ‘transpersonal *capacity* which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications)’ (Anderson 2006, 735, original emphasis) we can see this capacity giving life to the image. We can see the shared exhilaration between the volunteer and the children in the room, that this is so clearly shared bears out the “contagious” nature of affect that emerges in an ‘affective atmosphere’. But the real relevance of the image in the context of





fig 4.14

this discussion is that, recalling the post-structural understanding of the affective capacity of photography, this is not only a representation of an affective atmosphere, it is itself an affective atmosphere into which we enter on looking at the photograph. For moments, perhaps imperceptible moments, this image and the others in the marketing and recruitment material for ICS enter the body into a ‘microsequence’ of events that result in a ‘resonant affective state’ marked by related bodily changes. These processes push in unknown ways on subsequent decisions.

Through these images then we enter an affective world that speaks to the preconscious *sotto voce*, it tunes into our autonomic nervous system, modifies our regulatory patterns and produces involuntary changes in our physiology that emerge to press on thinking and behavioural patterns. Of course the effects are unknowable but the affects are present and push through the body. At the very least this means that the imagery used in the promotion of ICS and global citizenship cannot be seen as ‘just photos’, there is a lot more going on, much of it at the level of the ‘unconscious processing systems’ currently targeted by policy makers, and exemplified by the MINDSPACE strategy. Recalling this explicit Cabinet Office directive to ‘use the power of affect’ to tap into ‘unconscious processing systems’ and the idea that these images together form a collective cue that pulls at targeted strings begins to seem credible.

To further this idea the following section offers a short consideration of the affective relationship between an image and the viewer (me).

#### 4.5.2 An account of the affective push of an image of smiling children

One image in particular seems to me to be quite pronouncedly affective. It appears (perhaps tellingly) on the “apply now” page. Three boys smiling with two very clear smiling faces on either side of the group (composite, fig 4.11; enlarged version, below, fig 4.15). Our eyes are drawn to their smiles and the motion of the photo; the boy’s left hand slightly out of focus, the middle boy leans in and - one imagines - overbalances after the photograph is captured. The sense of motion, and the obvious (but only clumsily described) *orbicularis oculi* at work lends a sense of candidness to the photo – we are witness to a real (not posed) reality. In the use of children there are quite plain contingencies with the wider narratives of development discussed in the first part of this chapter. Such images, Kate Manzo has argued, push us ‘to act in *loco parentis* by tapping into cultural associations of childhood with dependence, innocence, and the need for protection and care’ (2008, 652, original emphasis). While there are structural implications here to do with



fig 4.15

[Apply now](#)

Orientalising the South as in need and the North as paternal there is too a more immediate visceral understanding.

To perceive – and imagine – the affective movement between the body and the image we have to give ourselves over to the image, to recognise that ‘one is always necessarily haunted, and constitutively so, by the other’ (Roberts 2012, 1-2) – the photo in some way becomes a part of us, and us a part of it. Analysis of that *something* – what Barthes termed the ‘punctum’ – involves an imaginative process in which ‘you have to give yourself up’ to ‘a kind of subtle beyond’ (2000, 59). That ‘beyond’ will always remain beyond, leaving deliberation in a bind. One way to negotiate this might be to engage in performance writing ‘more interested in evoking than representing’ what might be happening in an unfixed world (Pelias 2005, 418).

An attempt:<sup>6</sup> the photo invites us only to look on the four boys’ faces, there is no background to give context, but they are quite obviously happy. These boys, though, I cannot help but think, are poor and probably need help. My help, perhaps? I’m thus slowly moving into a parental (or guardian?) position and somewhere in my sub-cortical brain my reptilian synapses pulse and these poor children induce a precognitive process that I can only label (now in my cognitive application of language) “reproductive instinct”. Yes, these boys trigger somewhere thoughts of my unborn child and a semi-cognised thought flickers on how good a mother my wife will (would) be. There is also a deep anxiety that emerges, an anxiety over my own fertility – or a missed opportunity to procreate – though I may not know (or want to know) it. These anxieties become entwined with my empathy reinforcing a pre-cognitive (parental?) instinct to act – to do something. These pulses, charges, flashes call forth a desire to prolong those smiles and as affect morphs into felt emotion these neuro-processes emerge as a fully cognised feeling. All that remains from here is for these sub-cortical synaptic impulses to emerge and manifest themselves in a click on the “apply now” icon. I want to volunteer; fight the “challenge” of global poverty; “help” the needy South; be an active citizen at home and so forth.

The obvious counter to this is that “it’s just a photo”. But it is in this dismissal in which the potential of this and the other photos lies. Theoretical considerations of photography have long recognised this as a paradox where an image is simultaneously

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<sup>6</sup> A necessary caveat: what follows is a tentative account of the processes that may be at work on looking at this photograph. I consciously avoid the term ‘analysis’ and follow the dictum ‘you cannot read affects, you can only experience them’ (O’Sullivan 2001, 126). To negotiate this bind I make an attempt at ‘performative writing’ where the body is placed within the text and I concede in my writing ‘the potential to be disrupted by the fleshiness of the body’ (Waite et al. 2007, 252). While potentially awkward, done well, ‘performative writing evokes worlds that are other-wise intangible, unlocatable: worlds of memory, pleasure, sensation, imagination, affect, and in-sight’ (Pollock 1998, 80). See 2.6.3 and 7.3.



‘powerful – but also weak; meaningful – but also meaningless’ (Mitchell 2005, 10), or as Susan Sontag famously argued: ‘the photo’s relatively indiscriminatory nature does not lessen its didacticism – this very passivity – and ubiquity – of the photographic record is photography’s “message”, its aggression’ (1977, 7). It follows that where it seems the significance of smiles or candidness has been overplayed in this part of the chapter, any doubt should be tempered with the recognition that what might seem inconsequential may actually work on our bodies in difficult-to-track ways. The passivity of these images, then, should – paradoxically – be considered a justification for close attention. The very possibility that they activate important biological and precognitive processes and potentially push on subsequent decisions and actions makes them worthy of consideration, especially in a policy climate such as this where mastery over such processes is so keenly coveted.

#### 4.5.3 An affective future of change and a better self

The remaining part of the chapter revisits two themes of global citizenship identified in Chapter 3 and considers them from a perspective provided by academic work on the future and its power to affect. In Chapter 3 I discussed ‘neoliberal ideals of the self in global citizenship’ in terms of ‘difference making’ and a ‘project of the self’ (3.2.1; 3.3). The discussion drew on important understandings of neoliberal designs on subjectivity and citizenship and made the case that the ICS programme engages volunteers in making a difference and self-advancement in ways that ally citizens with the political, economic and social objectives of neoliberal governance (Miller and Rose 1990). The claims made in Chapter 3 are based on an ontological and epistemological assumption that the world is created through discourse and that the truths within it work to produce global citizens. In what follows the discussion re-enters this world to sense it affectively and theorise the affective push contained within the ideas of making a difference and self-advancement. The main way I do this is by connecting these ideas with their orientation to the future and the power it holds to impress on the present as an affective form.

##### 4.5.3.1 The promise of development

Futures have been cited as ‘integral’ to strategies of affective governance where the prospects of flu epidemics, computer viruses and organised terrorism present uncertainties that emerge in affective cues for populations to act in desired ways (Anderson 2010). This is evident in the well theorised rise of “risk” in contemporary modes of governance (Giddens 1990; Beck 1992) where environmentalism, health and security are used by

governments to present ‘manufactured uncertainties’ designed to address populations as affective and neurological bodies (Isin 2004). This is captured at its most pervasive in accounts of terror where affective apparatuses of security render entire populations ‘a distributed neuronal network registering en masse quantum shifts in the nation’s global state of discomfiture in rhythm with leaps between colour levels’ (Massumi 2005, 1; also Anderson and Adey 2011). “What will happen”, in this case is highly subjective, heavily politicised and, critically, based on “classified” information that is not burdened with substantiation. The result is a very clear sense of futures used to render populations uneasy and supportive of pre-emptive action; irrespective of how the future *might have* unfolded, “what will happen” directs action in the present. Aside from terror and the unsettling “securitisation of everything” (Neumann 2005), potent affects have been put to more subtle uses in, for example, scenes of melting ice caps (Leiserowitz 2007), endangered charismatic species (Boykoff 2008) and proposed nuclear power plants (Keller et al. 2012). Each example presents a future more or less strategically configured to press on the decisions people make in the present. Arguably even more subtle is the ‘promise’ of development (Karagiannis 2004), international travel (Conradson and Latham 2007) and the future aspirations of young people (Brown 2011), all of which are futures that fold into ICS and global citizenship.

Development is articulated through a vernacular of intentions, advancement and improvement whose objectives are always somewhere “beyond” the present and therefore perennially deferred to a future that, by definition, can never come to pass (Karagiannis 2004). This is a matter of quite simple semantics that feeds into politicised configurations such as the discursive positioning of “developed” countries in a dominant relationship with those that are adjudged to be “developing” (for example Escobar 1995; 6.1). But there is something else to this “beyond” that carries with it equally pervasive, non-discursive forces in shaping the world of development. The promise of change - a better future - has folded into it a broad range of affects along a spectrum of happiness/hope to sadness/anxiety. This is evident in recent academic work that seeks to sense such affects and theorise their significance for policy, practitioners (researchers included) and the poor. For instance Sarah Wright notes in her ethnography of development work in the Philippines ‘the suffering experienced in the struggle for the land, the loss and heartbreak, the pride of success, the hopes that suddenly burst forth for the future’ (2012, 1115). For Wright and others (Ballie Smith and Jenkins 2012; Hardy 2012; Humble 2012; Jones and Ficklin 2012) both the idea of development and the doing of development are emotionally charged and ‘it becomes

clear that we cannot afford *not* to attend to affect if we are to understand poverty' (2012, 1115, original emphasis).

By default – by entering the world of development – the ICS programme automatically draws on these energies and, recalling the disposition of 'the British psyche' (above, 4.2), the very presence of development in the construction of global citizenship contributes to the affective pull for young people to sign up. To add weight and specificity to this argument we can think about the role of the future on the programme and the ways it works through ideas of development, volunteering and global citizenship. From the outset it is important to recall the figure of a changed world as a theme central to the ICS development imaginary (below, fig 4.16) that immediately gives a sense of the temporal

fig 4.16



arrangement of volunteering and global citizenship as a future to be worked towards. Related figures such as “making a difference”, “development impact” and “fighting poverty”, each discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2), reiterate and reinforce the idea of change and its orientation towards the future. In fact, it could be argued that, in the foreclosing of colonial pasts and neocolonial presents, the entire programme focuses attention on the future. Aside from the issues of discursive subjugation already discussed (again, 3.2), this orientation to the future can also be understood as a powerful source of affect.

To illustrate this, the discussion now turns to the volunteer blogs that feature quite prominently in the marketing and training material (for more on ICS blogs see 3.4). The blog posts are hosted on the DfID and ICS websites and are linked to in the online application process. They are also used in training material as examples of the work that takes place on placement. Many of the posts describe important days of community engagement and are thus full of lively descriptions of volunteering on ICS. In one such post entitled ‘Connecting girls, inspiring futures’ one volunteer describes a Community Action Day in Afjalpur, Bangladesh:

Under the relentless sun of a spring afternoon in Bangladesh (if it's this hot in March, I can't begin to imagine the heat of summer!) we began our rally from the centre of the village, joined by over 100 men, women, boys and girls. Shouting messages and carrying signs about women's health, education and rights, we collected an even larger crowd as we went. Everyone was in very high spirits by the time the rally finished at the location of the cultural programme, ready to be entertained by beautiful Bangla singing, dancing and poetry performed by local people.

The performances were intermitted by speeches raising awareness about women's issues and explaining the huge significance of the 400 people in the crowd coming together on IWD. It was incredibly rewarding to see young and old, male and female at the event, as the issues primarily affecting women have repercussions on everyone.

As the cultural programme was coming to a close our final act was a dance by a 16-year-old girl who had been forced into marriage six days before.



<https://dfid.blog.gov.uk/2012/03/14/connecting-girls-inspiring-futures/>

This is a lively account. There is a strong sense of communality and volunteering on ICS is presented as a collective and sensuous experience of rallied (and hot) bodies, passions, fears and hopes. As these energies emerge, the crowd ascends to 'very high spirits' that, it is implied, succeed in 'connecting girls [and] inspiring futures'. Important to highlight at this point is that the spirit, connection and inspiration depicted here rest on the future-orientated senses of anticipation (an imminent change), hope (of a better future) and (even) anxiety (surrounding forced marriage). In the following post a volunteer in Villa, Peru describes a commemoration of Maria Elena Moyano, an important community leader in a local peace movement:



Maria Elena is seen as a role model for the masses. Her amazing work was sadly and brutally cut short during Peru's era of terror, when she was assassinated by the Maoist rebel group The Shining Path for her determination to continue working for the community and her refusal to succumb to fear.

The mayor presided over the ceremony, which included: speeches; placing a wreath on a statue commemorating Maria Elena; awarding members of the community for their achievements; and, what I found to be most poignant, releasing doves into the sky as a symbol of peace, which Peruvians have fought so hard to maintain against terrorist threats.

This was followed by a chant, begun by members of the women's organisation Maria Elena herself set up, consisting of the words: "Los

peruanos quieren paz, terrorismo nunca más" which translates to: "Peruvians want peace, no more terrorism". Since the leader of what remains of the Shining Path movement was captured only a few days ago, these words were particularly heartfelt.

However, as I stood there, part of the crowd and part of something much greater than just myself, the words which really struck me were these:

"You are Villa El Salvador. We are all Villa El Salvador. And Villa El Salvador will keep on progressing".

<https://dfid.blog.gov.uk/2012/03/05/part-of-something-greater-than-myself/>



In this passage we get an even greater sense of the centrality of the body to the experience of volunteering. The scene is depicted as richly emotional (sadness, poignancy, pride, hope, fear), populated by a collective of bodies (chanting, a crowd) whose affective presences are evidently sensed by the volunteer's affected body; she is corporeally moved at various 'poignant', 'heartfelt' and 'striking ['struck']' moments. These shared moments are transcendental as she feels 'part of the crowd and part of something much greater than just myself'. Significantly, what takes her to this state – 'the words which really struck me' – is 'Villa El Salvador will keep on progressing', the hope of a better future.

In an important sense, then, these representations of work on ICS do not only describe: they evoke an affecting and affected bodily presence of volunteers in an intense space of development in which 'hopes burst forth' in a similar way to that described by Sarah Wright, above. The people of the Bangladeshi and Peruvian communities presented are balanced between respective uncertain futures to do with women's rights and peace. Reading them we cannot help but feel drawn by the developmental promise of a better future; while also, of course, we are simultaneously unsettled by the anxiety of it not being realised. These energies carry along the moments described in these and other evocations of the future that come out of the programme's emphasis on change, making a difference and impact. A turn to recent academic literatures on the future and affect helps to explicate why this is significant. Alan Latham and David Conradson refer to the multiplicity of life and the importance of belief, emotion and intuition that present possibilities in the unfolding of the world: '[we all] inhabit a world where the actual is always haunted by possibility, by the virtualities folded within its emergence' (2003, 1902). Similarly Massumi has discussed these possibilities as 'uncertainties' that disrupt time in what he describes as a "future/event": 'an eventuality that may or may not occur, indifferent to its actual occurrence. The event's consequences precede it' (2005, 8). Drawing on and developing the shared notion in this work that the future presses on the present, Ben Anderson has written extensively on how these possibilities/uncertainties circulate as hope that 'animates and dampens social-cultural life' (2006, 733, 740; also 2007; 2010). Anderson refers to a 'spark of hope' and the promise of a 'more to life' that raises bodies to 'an intensified connection to life' that, crucially, makes things happen (ibid., 745). Returning to Bangladesh and Peru, we can imagine how the volunteers and the people of the communities were affected through a shared orientation towards the future; its emergence in the present as 'high spirits' and transcendence to 'something much greater than myself'.

'This is a moment of shared 'buzz', of belonging: 'the moment where world and individual, folded together, call each other into existence' (Dewsbury 2003, 1910).

#### 4.5.3.2 The affecting future as aspiration

Taken as marketing material we could therefore conclude that this future-orientated element of ICS presents a further affective push to participate on the programme. While this is very probably true, there is, I want to argue, a more potent use of the future within these texts that both adds to the affective push and connects more clearly with the idea that the ICS programme draws on affect in the production of volunteers as global citizens. This involves recognising another future contained within these evocations of change, one not related directly to (a victory in) 'fighting global poverty' but one to do with the future of volunteers in on a path of self-advancement. To illustrate, here is an excerpt from a 'meet the volunteers' section on the website:

I was immediately drawn to working at Kwale School for the mentally handicapped in Kenya. I imagined it would be emotionally exhausting and frustrating but I was really looking forward to the challenge. It meant I could work with kids and try to make a difference in the lives of others, which was my main motivation for volunteering. (ICS Volunteer, Kenya)

This short extract resonates with those from the blogs above in the ways that both positive (hope) and negative (frustration) possible/uncertain futures enter the space of volunteering for development. To emphasise their embodied presence, the description is prefigured by one adverb, 'emotionally', and followed with the distinctly corporeal experience of exhaustion and frustration. Crucially, these embodiments are animated by an anticipated future: 'looking forward' to 'mak[ing] a difference'. But this is where the future comes from a different perspective; the anticipation does not only surround making a difference to the 'kids' of the school but it is also heavily dependent on a notion of making a difference to the volunteer, too. The opportunity is hers (not only theirs) and it is this figuration of the future that links its affective properties to a subject-making Government agenda. Re-reading the text through this link reveals it to have a didactic quality in the way it performs a suggested mode of directing the body's affective response to a possible future: the anticipation itself 'was my main motivation for volunteering'. Holding onto this sense of anticipation for the future and its connection with hope, we can begin to add depth to the argument that the future works through the ICS programme as way of 'engineering' affect. This has to do with the project of the self and the affective dimensions of aspiration.

ICS (and Big Society in general) comes at a moment where, according to Government and centre-right popular discourse, Britain is populated by “disillusioned youth” living in “broken communities”. As a result (or perhaps because of this) young people are commonly referred to as lacking in ambition and low in aspirations. Though this is part of everyday government-speak, it is particularly emphasised as the rationale for NCS (National Citizen Service) and ICS. For example, the Prime Minister’s foreword in the Policy Paper for the programmes reads:

too many of our young people appear lost. Their lives lack shape or any sense of direction. So they take out their frustrations and boredom on the world around them. They get involved with gangs. They smash up the neighbourhood. They turn to drink and drugs. (Conservative Party 2007)

From this base, what amounts to making a *tabula rasa* of young people’s subjectivity, the Government positions itself as a provider of the remedy. The remedy, however, does not come in the form of a welfarist “fix” (where a corresponding citizen ‘expects’) but it comes as neoliberalising “aspiration” (for which a corresponding citizen ‘hopes’). In identifying this shift, Mike Raco terms it a neoliberalising ‘existential politics’ in which the ‘ontological security’ of welfare is replaced by the obligation to aspire (2009, 436-440). This comes through quite strongly in Government discourse on social policy and the Big Society in the repeated conviction that policy should ‘win [young people] over, get them to raise aspirations and *get them to think* that they can get all the way to the top’ (Cameron 2013, my emphasis). ICS in particular is positioned to mobilise (not realise) these raised aspirations:

It will not only broaden their horizons but it will build the confidence necessary to achieve their personal and professional goals in later life. This will give many more young people who might otherwise not be able to afford it the chance of a life-changing experience. They will gain new perspectives, greater confidence and higher aspirations. (International Development Secretary, Andrew Mitchell DfID 2011a)

While at this stage in the research it is hardly revelatory that ICS is engaged in creating self-reliant and aspirational citizens (see 3.3), re-visiting this aspect informed by the idea of an affective future offers an opportunity to track the ‘engineering’ of affect in process.

First comes the political function of the future: the world of the present is not only a bleak (and, it must be said, rhetorically exaggerated) one of gangs and drugs but it is also static, presented in no uncertain terms. The compulsion to aspire on the other hand disrupts this certainty through the promise that participation on the programme will ‘kick start your career’ and ‘look great on your CV’ (that is always implicitly shadowed by the anxiety-inducing corollary of *not* participating). The choice is made “hope or anxiety”, which is to say: “aspire or nothing”. This resonates with Nikolas Rose’s influential critiques



## Where we work



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## Three fantastic countries to choose from...

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### Bolivia

- **Oeser**, a fantastic partner based in a very poor community in the north of Cochabamba. You could be involved in two very different activities.
- **Faetin-de Niles**, who run an amazing rural community centre for three to 17 year-olds - loads of sports activities.
- **PATSIDA**, who focus on raising awareness and prevention of HIV.

## Rwanda

+ **Rural Development Inter Diocesan Service (RDIS)**, who promote sustainable agricultural skills, improved food production through tree planting, and expand livelihood opportunities for small scale pineapple farmers.

## Palestine

Palestine is known to some as comprising Israel and the Occupied Territories (The West Bank and The Gaza Strip), and is known to others as the Occupied Palestinian Territories.



## Burkina Faso

With few natural resources and one of the highest population densities in Africa, Burkina Faso is the second poorest country in the world (United Development Programme 2007-8). Its economy is vulnerable to exile and only Sierra Leone, currently emerging from civil war, is poorer.



## WE WORK IN 10 COUNTRIES.

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## Tweets



## Ghana

The Republic of Ghana is named after the medieval West Africa kingdom of Ghana and means 'Warrior King.' Ghana was the first former colonial state in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence in 1947. Bordered by the Ivory Coast to the west, Togo to the east and Burkina Faso to the north, Ghana is approximately the same size as the United Kingdom and comprises Lake Volta, the largest man-made lake in the world.



In the last two decades Ghana has achieved great stability and progress, standing as a beacon in West Africa for other nations plagued by conflict and uncertainty. However, Ghana remains a heavily indebted developing nation; the progress achieved elsewhere in Ghana is not shared in the North of the country - with progress stalled or even reversed. In the North people depend on agriculture in a very fragile environment, with the vast majority of people living on less than \$2 a day. The country is heavily dependent on foreign aid, its economy is vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices for cocoa and gold, which are its main exports.





## Malawi

Malawi is a land-locked country in South-Eastern Africa, about half the size of the UK. It is characterised by its long thin shape; Lake Malawi (the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest lake in Africa), which stretches most of its Eastern border; the Great Rift Valley which runs its entire length; a mix of temperate and equatorial climates; a rainy season between late December and March; and by being one of the world's least developed countries. If you were to undertake an ICS project with Latitude in Malawi, you would be based on either one of the following projects:

### Mzuzu Youth Association Project

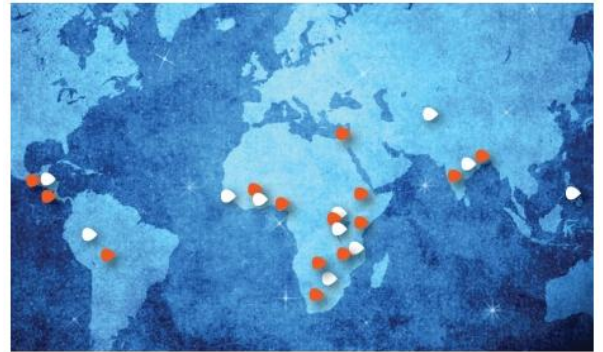


The Youth Association is made up of 30+ youth based organisations (YBOs) in and around Mzuzu, which utilise a wide range of extracurricular activities from sports, arts and IT, to engage young people on social, health and general educational issues. As part of the project volunteers help increase the association's reach through helping carry out various activities with local young people; planning events, through awareness raising work and through research into helping develop a sustainable development plan for the project.

### Sangilo Project

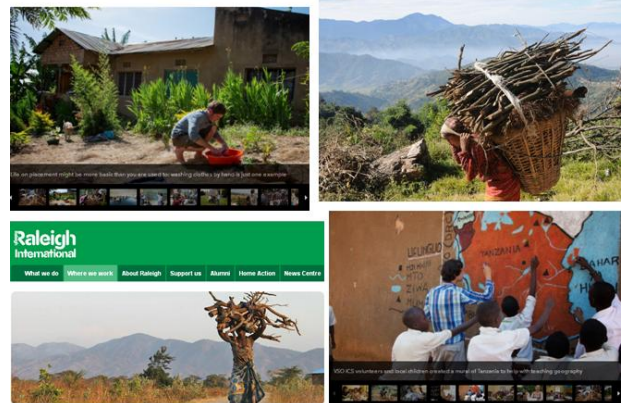


Sangilo is a small rural village found 3 hours north of Mzuzu. It is in an idyllic setting of green bush lands, nestled between the fine sandy beaches along Lake Malawi and the steep ascent of the Ngika plateau. Despite the setting however, the community is very poor and mostly without electricity or running water. Volunteers would be using a range of activities to help children gain access to early years education. This may involve supporting teachers and resourcing as well as the construction of basic amenities such as toilets, sanitation systems and the repair and construction of school blocks.



## Where you could go

ICS currently has projects in 24 of the world's poorest countries.



## Where can I go on Latitude ICS?



Our first ICS volunteers were sent in January 2014 to Ghana and Malawi and we will be sending volunteers overseas every 3 months until late 2015. During the summer and autumn periods we will also be sending volunteers to South Africa.

### South Africa

South Africa is an exciting country, bustling with hope and optimism for the future. Having long endured oppression under imperial rule and subsequently under apartheid, its eventual triumph under the universally admired moral leadership of Nelson Mandela has seen the country emerge as a figure-head for the 'African Renaissance'. Indeed, with a large abundance of space, people and increasingly money and resources, South Africa is one of the emerging world powers as demonstrated by its recent hosting of the 2010 World Cup. However, it does remain one of the most unequal societies in the world.

South Africa is also a country of outstanding natural beauty and biodiversity; from the Limpopo River to the Great Escarpment, the vast bush covered plateaus to the Cape Peninsula, which juts out into the Atlantic Ocean. If you were to undertake an ICS project with Latitude in South Africa, you would be based on either one of the following projects:

#### The Human Dignity Centre



Based in the Walmer Township of Port Elizabeth, this project supports Latitude's partner organisation Human Dignity Centre. They aim to restore families, reduce poverty and provide children with quality education, food, clothing and support, thereby uplifting the community into the future. They ask to get support from the ICS volunteers for health awareness campaigns; peer education programmes and needs analysis.

#### Upstart



Based in the Joza Township of Grahamstown, ICS volunteers will assist with the Upstart Youth Development Project. Through providing an interactive culture of learning, Upstart seeks to develop young people in the township where high levels of poverty, unemployment and a lack of basic infrastructure is still common. In particular, ICS volunteers will help with the planning and facilitation of health awareness events, the development of educational material and media as well as needs analysis.

fig 4.18

of neoliberal governance where individuals ‘are not merely “free to choose”, but *obliged to be free* [...] They must interpret their past and dream their future as outcomes of choices made or choices still to make’ (1999, 87 original emphasis). The obligation to aspire follows this pattern; the past is the result of poor choices that can only be remedied by the “right” choices for the future - and these choices carry an imperative to dream. The Government’s role in this is exemplified in the Prime Minister’s words above: his imperative ‘get them to think’ recalls in very clear terms the ethos of MINDSPACE and its strategy of “getting at” the wills, desires and thought processes of the public (4.3). This provides quite strong evidence for a link between the Government’s idea of itself, this “brain world” policy making climate and the implementation of ICS. Drawing these two ideas out of David Cameron’s and the wider Government’s statements provides quite convincing evidence of a neoliberalising function of the future and the intent to exert this via an ethos of “getting them to think”. What remains is to flesh out the affective function of the future within this ‘existential politics’ of aspiration.

Aspiration, argues Gavin Brown, involves the promise of transformation that appeals to a disposition to respond to ‘precognitive embodied impulses and feelings’ that emerge ‘as an affective orientation to the future’ (2011, 9). Referring to New Labour policy makers, Brown makes the link between ‘moving young people’s ambitions up a perceived hierarchy of acceptable future careers’ by attempting ‘to increase their confidence, self-esteem [...] creating ‘wow!’ moments during widening participation events that reveal and activate new possibilities for their future’ (ibid., 8). ICS fits perfectly this model, first stripping confidence in the characterisation of “disillusioned youth” before appealing to an ‘enthusiastic’ commitment to ‘developing new skills’ (DfID 2011a), all carried along through a programme that, to use Brown’s term makes significant impact as a “wow! moment”. Take for example the invitation to ‘choose a project’ from ‘24 of the world’s poorest countries’ (fig 4.18), and the visualisation of such choice in a huge range of maps and scenery-rich images and the “wow factor” is quite striking (fig 4.17).

Through these representations huge swathes of the Earth and an imaginary of infinite opportunities are put at the disposition of the volunteer. Affects abound as a future of transnational mobility excites (Conradson and McKay 2007). It permeates everyday ordinariness and ‘conjures’ the globe as a wondrous ‘dream space’ (Tsing 2005), carrying with it an ‘imperative to imagine’ new relations with new places (Jameson 2005). Through these images, prospective volunteers are casually urged to ‘have a browse through each of these country options’ and this takes them on a virtual tour through an ‘amazing rural

community' in Bolivia, 'an idyllic setting of green bush lands' in Malawi and a version of South Africa 'bustling with hope and optimism for the future' (fig 4.18). There are twenty-one more countries to explore in this way, each represented by maps, landscapes and similarly affective descriptions. Reading through the descriptions and images - even from a dull university office - one cannot help but momentarily be led to the affective 'hum of the world' (Bingham and Thrift 2000, 281) that calls forth 'a will to connect' (Ramsay 2009). There is something about this global space and its immediate presence that causes wonder. David Conradson and Alan Latham, in an empirical study of New Zealand migrants to London, argue that this pull of the distant world emerges through the 'somatic internalisation' of a culturally desirable process of 'becoming cosmopolitan' (2007, 233). This would suggest that a global future raises in us all an affective response.

Engaging citizens in a project of the self is a key way in which academics have conceptualised neoliberal governance and interventions in social life. As previously discussed in Chapter 3 there is a well developed analytical frame that provides useful understandings of the discursive means by which citizens are encouraged to make "correct" choices about their futures. As we have seen some of these choices are written into the Government's construction of global citizenship on the ICS programme, prominently those related to the neoliberalising concepts of self-advancement, self-actualisation and self-reliance. What this present discussion brings is a perspective on a complementary force that works through evocations of the future to impress on the body an affective imperative to embark on a project of the self. This introduces the potent affect of hope at three different but inter-related scales. First is through the transmission of hope as a better future for 'the world's poorest' that provides an affective 'push' for young people to participate on the programme. Second comes through the very strong emphasis on aspiration through the Big Society in general and ICS in particular. Third is situated within this frame of aspiration and has to do with the spatial imaginary of the programme and its transcendent capacity to make volunteers 'feel large' (Berlant 2008). Working together, these aspects of the future and their different affective properties speak to volunteers, "get at" their pre-cognitive knowledges and work their way through decision-making and behaviours. Thus, the construction of volunteering and global citizenship by the Government works to put potential volunteers in a "hot" state, affecting and effecting global citizenship - and subtly referencing its own venture into our collective mind-space when it asks:

Feeling fired up by these stories? You know what to do to start your journey.

**APPLY NOW**

#### 4.6 Closing comments

This chapter has covered a broad range of subject matter and has drawn on diverse literatures from different disciplinary perspectives. Each section has explored a different aspect of what affective processes might be involved in the signing up to and interpretation of global citizenship on the ICS programme. Beginning with the affective cultural forms of Development through to the visual representation of the programme itself the entire process of becoming an ICS Global Citizen is packed with affective phenomena that impress on the body. Add to this the affective economy seemingly inherent to the ‘wider emotional repertoires’ of volunteer labour (Smith et al. 2010, 261; Griffiths 2014); the always present affective injustices inherent to development work (Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012; Hardy 2012; Humble 2012) and also the Government’s documented exploration of affect through MINDSPACE and the case strengthens. There is a surfeit of affect on the ICS programme and that pulls in potential volunteers in independently faint but cumulatively significant ways.

The argument has been made here in two stages. First I have suggested that culturally circulated affects in the media produce embodied responses in the British public and that neoliberal power is present within this circuit of affect-response. Throughout I have reiterated that affects are not easily identified as expressions of power, instead making links by attending to what Sara Ahmed terms the ‘sociality of affect’ and its ‘politics of attribution’ (2007). Turning to Ahmed’s work offers the chance explicate the contribution this makes to the research project. By attending to ‘the ways in which good and bad feelings are unevenly distributed in the social field’, argues Ahmed, we can begin to understand the shared orientation toward certain objects that become desirable in a specific social field:

There is a political struggle about how we attribute good and bad feelings, which hesitates around the apparently simple question of who affects whom, or who introduces what feelings to whom. Feelings can get stuck to certain bodies in the very way we describe spaces, situations, dramas. And bodies can get stuck depending on what feelings they get associated with. (ibid., 127)

The attribution of affects to cultural formations, Ahmed continues, ‘conditions’ us so that when ‘we arrive ‘at’ them with an expectation of how we will be affected by them, which affects how they affect us’ (ibid.). This ties together some of the chapter’s loose elements. In Ahmed’s terms the media attributes to development both good and bad feelings that set people on a specific affective path from which they arrive at volunteering. As I have shown in the first section of the chapter, the attribution of affects reinforces rather than challenges



a neoliberal status quo: never is anxiety brought into contact with, for example, persistent neo-colonial arrangements of power; nor is hope to be found in imaginaries of any credible sense of more justice. Instead the distribution plays out as an affective dimension of the dehistoricising, depoliticising and moralising processes so firmly tied to discursive expressions of neoliberal iterations of development. The outcome is a public 'primed' to respond to matters of development in a concordantly affected manner.

The second part of the chapter explores how the Government presents global citizenship in a way that speaks to 'primed' bodies. By examining the construction of volunteering and global citizenship largely through imagery and the imagination, the discussion offers evidence of a range of affective cues that might work on a pre-cognitive level to recruit and shape volunteers as global citizens. There is an appeal to the Darwinian notion of an affective reception of faces and the concomitant impulses to do with evolutionary readiness to interact and reproduce according to biological triggers. There is also a rich source of affect that comes out of evocations of the future. Whether through the future of others (the conditions of poverty) or of one's self (through aspiration and/or mobility) the ICS programme is well placed to mobilise the potent affect of hope and its corollary, fear. What emerges through the discussion is an account of cumulative affects that work through both the draw to and construction of global citizenship. In the first instance, in reading these affects we can imagine the 'push' they give to already primed potential volunteers. In the second we begin to recognise the embodied knowledge that parallels the apolitical and uncritical makeup of "soft" iterations of global citizenship. It follows that the ICS programme and its promotion of global citizenship can be considered a case of "affective governance". This is not to say that each push – or nudge – emanates from the Government but it is to say that such is the alignment of affects with neoliberal designs on citizenship in a policy climate sensitive to affects that there is compelling evidence of an affective dimension to the Government's promotion of its version of global citizenship.

This is a conclusion not without reservation, however. As Ahmed notes above 'who affects whom' is a circular process and always complicated by what Massumi famously termed 'the autonomy of affect' (1995). Revisiting some of this chapter's prominent themes equipped with this knowledge highlights a potentially restricting version of affective life that is quite strongly power- and policy-centric. This possible limitation marks the beginning of an important discussion on the study's conceptualisation of the

relations between power and people, a concern that provides the point of departure for the following chapter.

When you're in a dark tunnel you don't need folks to tell you, "it's dark in here." Analysis of the darkness is important and critique is necessary, but in these kinds of times we need to be very clear about the vision that lures us toward hope and the sources of that vision. We have to remind ourselves what we look like at our best and what has been bequeathed to us at our best - particularly now, as we're witnessing the waning of democratic sensibilities.

Cornel West (2004)

You can make political films and you can film politically  
Jean-Luc Godard

This chapter provides a number of correctives to the preceding analysis of ICS global citizenship and sets out the approaches taken in the two empirical Chapters that follow this. In Chapter 3, the discussion is built on the “canonical” methods of social science that trace the presence of power in discursive representations of the world (Latham and Conradson 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Such methods recognise that ‘language is not a neutral instrument of communication’ (McDowell 2010, 160) and that it in fact produces ‘the effect that it names’ (Butler 1993, 2). Analysing the discursive makeup of ICS reveals the processes in the production of volunteers as global citizens whose knowledge of the world is delineated by a neoliberal vision of development and self-advancement. In Chapter 4 the account of global citizenship and ICS is informed by the “turn to affect” in the social sciences (Crang 2003; Clough 2008), attending to the sites and technologies through which affects are ‘manipulated’ or ‘engineered’ to push on affective aspects of social life (Thrift 2004a; Pile 2010). The chapter imagines and attempts to pick apart the affective pull of the programme that draws volunteers into the neoliberalised position of global citizenship. Put together the two Chapters draw on a rich conceptualisation of power that reflects current research foci to illustrate the ways that volunteers are drawn into a neoliberalised version of global citizenship.

Before fully yielding to a conceptualisation of power that subordinates all aspects of life to power, however, the discussion in this chapter explores the idea of socially engaged research to consider the imperatives that brings to data collection and presentation. The case is put that while “capitalocentric” (Gibson-Graham 2002) accounts of social life (that is, those of Chapters 3 and 4) offer much – they are in fact essential in a project of uncovering the ways that power filters through into the minutiae of human relations – they by no means tell the whole story. More than this, especially where power is recognised as reflexive, knowing and affective, such power-centric accounts risk becoming performative

in themselves, restricting forms of life as they subsume and set the conditions of even the most intimate aspects of social relations. This, I argue here, is surely not the objective of academic labour. Instead the case is put that once we recognise the pervasive and creative work of power in “advanced” liberalism (neoliberalism), we must also reserve a similarly dynamic, reflexive and sentient understanding of people as they form social relations and appreciate that this is essential to doing socially engaged research. The hoped-for result is what feminist geographers J.K. Gibson-Graham have termed a “non-capitalocentric” mode of doing research that works through an ethic of ‘a readiness to explore rather than judge, giving what is nascent and not fully formed some room to move and grow’ (2008, 620; also 2002; 2006). The implications of such an approach for this research project are set out here in a discussion that develops the short sub-section on ‘research for a better future’ in Chapter 2 (2.1).

The chapter departs from a reflection on power-centric research performances such as those of Chapters 3 and 4. I argue that such policy-heavy research rests on both a narrow and overly pessimistic understanding of power and neoliberalism that is flawed i) conceptually; ii) epistemologically and iii) ethically. Out of this discussion comes a robust critical base from which, when put together with concerns around research performances and social engagement, the imperative arises to afford social relations similarly rich – or “thick” – understandings so that people too, like power, are cognitively reflexive and precognitively affective. Consequently, both power and people are imagined as full of potential, and nothing is yet decided. Allowing this to inform the final Chapters of the study I propose two ways of producing socially engaged research ‘towards a better future’ through the use of discursive and affective modes of data collection and presentation that privilege ‘difference’ over ‘dominance’ (Gibson-Graham 2008) and contribute to, in Cornel West’s words, a ‘vision that lures us toward hope’ (2004). It is to this vision that Chapters 6 and 7 are committed. I begin with reflection on what it means to be a socially engaged researcher.

### 5.1 Socially engaged research and approaching injustice: “*Everything’s Sh\*t*”<sup>1</sup>

As I discuss in Chapter 2 (2.1) I am politically engaged and motivated to do social science research by its potential to uncover injustice. I understand doing research as ‘always already concerned about power and oppression’ (Cannella and Lincoln 2011, 81) and productive of applied and action-orientated knowledge (Jensen and Glasmeier 2010). I therefore identify

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<sup>1</sup> The arguments I present here are made in shorter form in Griffiths (2014).

with researchers whose objectives are motivated by change, rather than detached analysis (Martin 2001). Most frequently this approach entails engaging with capitalism and tracking its expressions of power in political, economic and social spheres. Of late, especially in western academia, research of this sort has framed discussion of these spheres through (various understandings of) neoliberalism (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009). The focus of the majority of this research works to seek out and reveal presences of power, and in so doing imply that they are deleterious in their hold on social relations. The turn to affect has complemented this research trajectory by offering a breadth to critique that allows even the minutiae of social life to be interpreted through the frame of neoliberalism. Taking this as an opportunity to witness life and add to the ever growing commentary on neoliberalism, I argue, stems from an overly pessimistic world view and, more problematically, results in a potentially totalising and damaging research performance. There is a lot to despair of, but surely as socially engaged researchers a more nuanced approach – that of course stops short of negation - might better serve political ends.

“Everything’s sh\*t”. On certain days as we go about our research, read the newspapers and follow politics we all approach exasperation. Exasperation at abuse of power, tax avoidance, corruption and the unrelenting forces of capitalism that blight our cities, working lives, families and even encroach on our innermost thoughts. On these days our vitriol is aimed at capitalism’s causal relationship with social ills and life’s subjection to the cold processes of the market. All is subsumed by governance, neoliberalism, the market and various other malevolent agents of injustice. Subjectivity, even, succumbs as ‘capital ends up penetrating and colonising those very Pre-Capitalist enclaves (Nature and the Unconscious)’ (Jameson 1991, 221) to render ‘contemporary subjects’

less the strenuous monadic agent of an earlier phase of capitalist ideology than a dispersed, decentred network of libidinal attachments, emptied of ethical substance and psychical interiority, the ephemeral function of this or that act of consumption, media experience, sexual relationship, trend or fashion. (Eagleton 1986, 45)

Of course such dystopian abstractions exaggerate but they nonetheless chime with many of the concerns of socially engaged research - the demise of morality, deference to the market, citizen-consumerism – that are repeatedly revisited in ‘studies of neoliberal this and that’ (Gibson-Graham 2008). Take this example from a paper on critical pedagogy:

[n]eoliberalism has become one of the most pervasive and dangerous ideologies of the twenty-first century. Its pervasiveness is evident not only by its unparalleled influence on the global economy but also in its power to redefine the very nature of politics and sociality. Free market fundamentalism rather than democratic idealism is now the driving force of economics and politics in most of the world. Its logic, moreover, has

insinuated itself into every social relationship, such that the specificity of relations between parents and children, doctors and patients, teachers and students has been reduced to that of supplier and customer. (Giroux and Giroux 2006, 22)

As a summary of neoliberalism there is not much room left for alternatives. The pervasiveness of “neoliberal ideology” is conveyed by its presence on the vastly different scales of policy and economy right down to the minutiae of interpersonal relationships. Work on affect adds weight to such accounts by giving us both the imagination and critical vernacular to envisage the passage from ‘ideology’ to the intimacies of inter-familial relations; “neuroliberalism” (Isin 2004) works on a population as ‘a distributed neuronal network’ (Massumi 2005) to gain ‘access to the pre-conscious emotional reactions that escape the reflexive subject and yet, supposedly, determine decisionmaking’ (Anderson 2012, 30). From this point, Jameson’s and Eagleton’s exaggerations are evident - ‘pre-capitalist enclaves’ and ‘libidinal attachments’ are colonised - and social life would seem to follow ‘free market fundamentalism’. Everything is indeed *shit*.

Somewhere within socially engaged research there exists this “doom narrative”, giving rise to a compulsion to expose power and, whatever the data from the field, frame the discussion through neoliberalism, thereby implying a causal relationship and providing evidence of neoliberalism as a deleterious presence in the intimacies of life. However, the dystopian abstractions of Jameson *et al.* transpose poorly onto the empirical business of socially engaged research and lead to accounts of social life that think only in terms set out by political economy, power, neoliberalism and so forth. Despite this, the conceptualisation of neoliberalism that assumes its causal relation to life prevails in academic research. Cue compelling but limiting (and limited) accounts of ‘the instrumentalisation of life’ (Anderson 2007) where ‘spirituality’ is produced through consumption (Williams 2011, 4); ‘emancipation’ is subordinated to ‘the engine of capitalist accumulation’ (Fraser 2009, 110-111) and even relations to the ‘non-human’ landscapes of nature are neoliberalised by private enterprise (Castree 2008a; 2008b). Further into the minutiae and we find neoliberalism having a hand in our personal decisions on health (Clarke et al. 2007); feeding our children (Powell 2013) and even “in the moment” (instinctive) choices on the use of contraception (Adam 2005). There is everywhere in this performance of the world, as we have also witnessed in research on volunteering, an ethereal ‘neoliberal sleight of hand’ (Mostafanezhad 2013a; 1.1.1) and, while not for a moment doubting the contribution of such research, it does produce an understanding of power’s relation to people that is indelibly (even reverently) hierarchical.

Where this is unequivocal, recognising no passage, hybridisation or interaction between the two, it is mistaken and detrimental to effective social engagement. The risk is a mode of fatalism within research working as a ‘performativity of social representations’ and thereby stifling any conviction that ‘another world is possible’ (Gibson-Graham 2008; McNally 2010). Doreen Massey writes provocatively on such research performances and their prevalence in academia:

By imagining capitalism as an all-encompassing monster we established a political scenario in which the total, millennial slaying of the beast was the only way forward which promised any degree of success. Anything less, any attempt to poke it here and there, or to set up exemplary alternatives, and one would immediately be upbraided by purer-minded colleagues for being ‘reformist’ or – the more serious point – have it pointed out to one how easily one’s poor efforts would be gobbled up by the monster, undermined by ever-present and irresistible ‘market forces’, subsumed by the everywhere-dominant tentacles of capitalism. (1997, 156)

For Massey, another world *is* possible but it has to be explored and written into being. So while there is value in developing a detailed critical understanding of neoliberalism as a flexible and affective power, this cannot be the sole focus of research output. There is too much at stake; defeating the ‘monster’ means we should stop short of performing its ‘everywhere-dominant tentacles’ and instead we might ‘poke’ and explore alternative worlds. The question of whether to “overthrow” or “step around” dominating forms of power is therefore a crucial one. Following Massey, the emphasis should be exploratory enquiry that marginalises the dominant and emphasises the possible. In order to reach this, the imperative therefore is to move beyond dystopian accounts of neoliberalism and open ourselves up to the possibility that neoliberalism may not rule the world after all.

## 5.2 Beyond dystopian accounts of neoliberalism

To move beyond monolithic accounts of capitalism and neoliberalism does not require of a vague or overly experimental approach to research. In fact, the imperative to marginalise performances of an ‘all-encompassing’ neoliberalism comes out of a range of well discussed concerns. Here I draw on established literatures to demonstrate that when research evokes an omnipotent neoliberalism it is flawed in three ways, **i)** conceptually; **ii)** epistemologically and **iii)** ethically.

**i)** Dystopian visions of an overbearing neoliberalism fail conceptually because neoliberalism is not a unitary mode of governance nor does it shape all our interactions in social life. Rather, ‘neoliberalisms are always (in some way or another) hybrid or composite structures’ (Peck and Tickell 2002, 384), and in this way always a compromise that depends on ‘the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, and political struggles’

(Brenner and Theodore 2002, 351). Accepting this, we should take seriously the passages between social and neoliberal forms. To an extent, the idea of ‘flexible’ neoliberalism does this by conceptualising a dialogic space between governance and cultural formations or discourses but there remains far more emphasis in research on the flexibility of neoliberalism than on subjects who are able to “work” its spaces (Bondi and Laurie 2005). And, it is telling that this is always a ‘neoliberal space’ being worked within and against rather than vice versa, thus indicating that even if it is only faint, ‘the social’ is imagined as ‘a fundamentally *re-active* field’ (Barnett et al. 2008, 628, original emphasis).

Making this conceptual distinction between political and socio-cultural formations, combined with the either strong or faint assumption that the latter follows the former, results in research performances of a causal relationship. This makes an important assumption that human experience, in some way, derives from power, capitalism and/or neoliberalism and that these are agents that, somehow, pull the strings. Yet there is often no more than a hazy conceptualisation of exactly how we, at the end of these strings, respond. This is a shortcoming that reduces social exchanges to a derivative of hegemonic notions of power, as Clive Barnett has pointed out:

the recurrent feature of the political-economy invocation of hegemony is that it lacks any clear sense of how consent is actually secured, or any convincing account of how hegemonic projects are anchored at the level of everyday life, other than implying that this works by “getting at” people in some way or other. (2005, 9)

So where there are some lines to be drawn between policy and social life it is erroneous to presuppose that ‘social relations’ are ‘a residual effect of hegemonic projects and/or governmental programmes of rule’ (ibid., 7-8). To conceptualise “the Social” in this way, even only implicitly, negates the variability of social relations and only puts the world at the service of currently fashionable research foci, of which neoliberalism is most certainly one (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009).<sup>2</sup>

Where research turns to affect this conceptual flaw is circumvented by a stronger understanding of how expressions of power “get at” people. While there is a general admission of affect’s imperceptibility (Clough 2008) and an element of imagination in data collection (Thrift 2004a), there is a large amount of research in psychology that explores the connections between affective stimuli and embodied responses such as facial expression (Davidson et al. 1990; Ekman and Davidson 1993; Dimburg et al. 2000),

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<sup>2</sup> In a content analysis of English language journals in the Infotrac Expanded Academic ASAP database (1980-2005) Taylor Boas and Jordan Gans-Morse (2005) track the rise of the term neoliberalism in research. From sparse usage in the years leading up to 1994 they label neoliberalism now an ‘academic catchphrase’ that by 2002 had begun to appear in more than 1,000 articles annually.



laughing (Bänninger-Huber 1992), clapping (Mann et al. 2013) and fear (Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal 2006; 4.5.1). Though they are not always brought into the discussion, that these literatures exist provides a tenable link in social science accounts of affective power and how it “gets at” affective life. Nonetheless, there remains a conceptual shortcoming in the evocation of affect as a means of managing populations. Even at its most empirical (in the field of clinical psychology, for instance), affect is understood as emergent from a ‘raw domain of primitive experiential richness’ (Massumi 2002, 29) that come into being through ‘transpersonal or prepersonal intensities’ as bodies affect one another (Anderson 2009, 78). As such, the affects that weave through social formations are co-constituted and co-constitutive of meeting bodies and not only the process of *being* affected by forms of affective governance. Affects are ‘autonomous’ (Massumi 1995) and lend life forms the capacity to ‘constantly escape’ attempts to harness it (Foucault 1977), making affect an ‘unstable’ and therefore contestable object of governance (Anderson 2007). This gives cause to question instances where affective life is attributed to the affective expressions of neoliberal power.

ii) Deference to neoliberalism as either an ideology or “power-discourse” is flawed epistemologically because it assumes a discursively constructed world where discourse is tied to power and then seeks to “get at” phenomena through discursive methods. In some work on affect this epistemological flaw appears where neoliberalism is seen as congruent with ‘our affective capacities’ such that life’s ‘order, intimacy, and autonomy’ are instrumentalised ‘without remainder’ (Vrasti 2011). As with approaches to power discourse, power is imagined as both omnipresent and omnipotent; even, if it is possible, taking hold of autonomy. Such views of the world, when incorporated into research, present a self-fulfilling methodological approach. So while the mode of inquiry might be commensurable with the phenomena under observation – as literatures on methodology (and doctoral upgrade panels) insist on – research findings will always already be incommensurate with the potential for social action because our discursive and/or affective capacities are always already subject to and derivative of the discursive and/or affective expressions of power. It serves to remember that theory, as Gayatri Spivak reminds us, ‘cannot help but ideologically constitute the world on which it reports’ and therefore works to construct the world in its own image (1999, 244). It follows that research cannot “know” the world in terms of “power-discourse” or “power-affect” and then read data on these terms; there can be a distinct conceit – and a certain ‘dogmatism’ (Jazeel and McFarlane 2009) – to such accounts that undoubtedly imposes limits on human agency.

iii) Ethically it is necessary to rehearse debates on the relationship the researcher has with the field. During the beginning of my field work in India this came to the fore when I was talking to people while simultaneously attempting to ‘code’ my observations ‘in the moment’ according to the methodological preparation I had undertaken. Following advice to “analyse as you participate” results in an incredibly inauthentic experience and undermines any connection one might experience with people in the field. The line between people and subjects that research pushes towards is always difficult to draw but it does seem that, for instance, “*talking volunteering, thinking governmentality (and please sign this consent form)*” (as I found myself doing in India) is a particularly deceitful way of conducting exchanges with people. This was pronounced when I was witness to some of the intense moments that came out of volunteer-host connections, emphasising that the up-scaling we are inclined and required to do cuts away many of the human aspects that are constitutive of such exchanges, sorrow, empathy and hope, for example. Experiencing these affects, the very bodily capacities that make us human, and relating them back into the theoretical frame of affective neoliberalism brought about a huge sense of discomfort that would reduce rich intersubjectivities to the ultimately cold realities of capitalist political economy. Reducing research participants’ words and embodiments to analysis informed only by power strips them of agency and subjects them to another round of subject-making in the discourses of research; these are obvious ethical indiscretions.

Ordering and putting together these correctives makes a convincing case for careful consideration of the way research imagines neoliberalism’s relationship with social life. It is clear that to deny social life existential terms outside power and political economy disintegrates social relations and constructs an exaggeratedly dominant image of neoliberalism that pervades culture, family, love and each and every thought and ~~un~~thought act that makes up life. This is counterproductive to the concerns of socially engaged research as the dismissal of agency precludes any possibility of alternatives to the impositions of neoliberalism. Out of this comes the rather pressing matter of research taking on a performative role and reinforcing the very power it seeks to challenge. Locating power in all aspects of life lends a helping hand to power’s shift from omnipresence to omnipotence. The two should not be conflated; that they often are means a significant amount of research on power must face the reality of being complicit in the very oppression it seeks to expose. This leads the discussion to a central concern of this study, how research engages (and contests) injustice without performing – and reinforcing – the power of power.

### 5.3 Repositioning neoliberalism

A significant amount of research explores the power of discourse while failing to reflect on its own capacity to ‘*make* social realities and social worlds’ (Law and Urry 2004, 391, original emphasis). In research on neoliberal power, Wendy Larner points out, the risk is ‘constructing neoliberalism as a monolithic apparatus’ leading to analyses that ‘inadvertently reconstruct its hegemony’ (2000, 15). It follows that once we recognise even a minor role in producing realities we must then consider ‘which realities?’ (Law and Urry 2004, 404). Addressing neoliberalism, then, we should beware performances ‘tinged with scepticism’ (Gibson-Graham 2008, 618) or ‘an inevitability about which nothing can be done’ (Bondi and Laurie 2005, 5). So even on the worst days when Jameson’s postmodern capitalist dystopia seems upon us we cannot allow it to drive research because the end can only be the inescapable positions of victim and victor. This would make academic labour, through the iterative processes of publishing and teaching, complicit in the “victories” of power - as if the power of neoliberalism needs reiterating. Socially engaged research should therefore seek in some way to deny an all-encompassing version of neoliberalism and insist on a thicker understanding of social relations.

A useful point of departure is Gibson-Graham’s practice of ‘reading for difference rather than dominance’ whereby researchers ‘recognise their constitutive role in the worlds that exist’ and work to bring into being ‘alternatives to hegemonic experience’ (2008, 623). From this point the objective is to evidence the ways that social life resists, contests and subverts power so that we can work towards a version of a world *insubordinate* to neoliberal power. To this end ground has been made in work that tracks the ways that people are able to “work the spaces of neoliberalism” and resist the impositions of neoliberal subject formation (Bondi 2005; Bondi and Laurie 2005). The neoliberal landscape here is not populated by passive subjects but ones that reframe and even embrace neoliberalism and “work” through its discourses to their own ends. Such work is therefore sensitive to difference and in so being remains open to the possibility of life escaping networks of power. The reality that begins to emerge at this point is one where power’s hegemony is not absolute and change can come about through sometimes disparate and localised examples of resistance and subversion.

To work ‘difference over dominance’ into this research project involves realising what tools we have and how they ‘see’ the world. If the objective is a reality where power does not preclude the possibility of more justice, then what we already have is a well developed set of qualitative methods that are predisposed to produce alternative

knowledges. To think the world qualitatively posits that it does not exist ‘out there’ waiting to be discovered but that the world is created through discourse and, crucially, people (and not only power) can be agents of that discourse (Crang 2003). Therefore, even before we explicitly engage issues of justice the very idea of using qualitative methods forces us to acknowledge that ‘neutrality is not possible’ and ‘taking a stance is unavoidable’ (Fontana and Frey 2005, 696); we are always already embroiled in issues of power and choices should be made. The choices range from reading coercion, where power is dominant, to reading subversion, where power is contested. The decision is made partly by the nature of ethnographic methods and the telling stance they take on the world. They

recognise the relevance and importance of ‘lay’ or ‘folk’ perspectives on the practicalities of everyday life. We choose these methods, then, as a way of challenging the way the world is structured, the way that knowledges are made, from the top down. We are therefore adopting a strategy that recognises the diversity of human experience, that addresses the complexity of how lives are lived, and that confronts the fact that people’s characteristics and experiences do not group into neat mappable parcels or tidy policy-relevant units [...] we are adopting a strategy that aims to *place non-dominant, neglected, knowledges at the heart of the research agenda*. (Smith 2001, 25, my emphasis)

In many ways this is obvious. Ethnography deals with people who are present in richer ways than is represented in their words and the words that do come out of ethnography should not be automatically placed in the wider meta-narratives much research on power tends towards.

The choices we make, then, matter. Look for dominance and it is there, difference, likewise. It follows that rather than pretend a “view from nowhere” (Haraway 1988), a commitment to a more just future demands that we emphasise relations and exchanges that may not be subordinate to the undoubted pervasiveness of power above considerations of the whys and wherefores of “neoliberalised” formations in a research performance of ‘neoliberal this and that’ (Gibson-Graham 2008). So in the context of this study and its focus on volunteering and global citizenship we can begin to explicate the decisions necessary if the research is to push towards change. The first option, and the one I am building a case against, is to carry through the weight of the dystopian vision of neoliberalism. This would mean taking volunteers’ ethnographies and introducing all kinds of disparate discourses to bring the data into line with the literatures that find neoliberalism and power everywhere. This would involve reading their words and acts through the influence of funding streams, managerialism, “postmodern” neoliberal subjectivity, and so forth, and then making connections with how subsequent practices and understandings of global citizenship are “neoliberalised”; that is, reading the ethnographic data from

volunteers through the analysis presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Examples of such work exist. And it is not that they do not teach us something, rather it is wrong to presume that they give a comprehensive account of the world. What matters is that such a reading betrays participants' agency and takes too many interpretive leaps; if we really are 'to place non-dominant, neglected knowledges at the heart of the research agenda', then, we have to avoid imposing discursive constructions on the social life we witness. That is the work of dominating forms of power; surely it is not for researchers to assist.

There are two ways this study puts this idea into practice. First through the use of coding discursive data for themes that can be thought of as subversive or resistant to dominant forms. This involves a conceptualisation of resistance influenced by a feminist shift away from a dichotomous arrangement of power and people. The second approach comes out of the so-called "affective turn" in the social sciences (Clough 2008) and draws energy from the epistemological advantages of making research sensitive to embodied experience of the world. What follows is a discussion of both of these approaches and the ways that they shape the two empirical Chapters that comprise the remainder of the thesis.

#### 5.4 Conceptualising resistance to 'all-encompassing' neoliberalism

In the previous two Chapters the discussion has focussed on ICS as an expression of power and its construction of global citizenship as consonant with neoliberal designs on subjectivity. The analysis presented by the Chapters evokes the 'all-encompassing monster' Massey warns against in research. In its examination of global citizenship and ICS, Chapter 3 moved through three conceptualisations of neoliberalism, beginning with an account of structural impositions as a mode of political economy, followed by a consideration of global citizenship through a more post-structural frame of normalising rationalities before providing an account of how such rationalities turn reflexive in a move to co-opt all possible modes of resistance. Chapter 4 related these rationalities to irrational phenomena, attributing to neoliberalism the capacity to circulate emotions and affects that ultimately contribute to a form of domination over citizens. The result is an account of the ways that global citizenship is promoted by the British Government by discursive and embodied means. The corollary, of course, is that this accounts for the ways that global citizens *are produced* by the British Government by discursive and embodied means. At times this productive element is no more than implied, but implied it is nonetheless. In this way the research has so far argued that global citizenship on the ICS programme is a mode of neoliberal subject making that forecloses critical perspectives through the recognition of

resistance and does so in part via a disconcerting appeal to volunteers' precognitive sensibilities. It is disconcerting because it is as dystopian as it is compelling.

In these forms, however, power is imagined as beyond structure: it is decentred, open-ended, evasive yet pervasive, present but somehow undetectable and hegemonic yet without structure. This conceptualisation of power has become predominant in social science research and owes much to the post-structural-postmodern "turn" and the ongoing postcolonial- and feminism-influenced work that has done much to dislodge the structural impositions to do with subjectivising categories to do with race, class and gender. Despite this thickening of the understanding of power, there remains 'a weak interest in analysis of actors, subjectivity and resistance' and the various "turns" go towards a reiteration of power's hold on social forms (Johansson and Lalander 2012, 1078). In this arrangement, subjects miss out as they are theorised or implicitly performed as reactive and compliant bodies unable to resist: 'individuals often come out as cultural dopes, and as victims of societal and cultural power structures' (ibid., 1078-9). In this way the critical thrust of postmodern/poststructural thought applies thickly to power and only thinly to people, resulting in an opposition that is underpinned by the very dichotomous arrangements contested in a large amount of postcolonial and feminist thought. There follows an opportunity to reconsider and possibly broaden the way that people do resistance in a way that is informed, as with power, by the prominent themes of poststructuralism. The remaining two empirical Chapters of this thesis take this opportunity via the two approaches that I outline in the following two sections.

#### 5.4.1 From Chapter 3 to 6: resistance in a discursive world

In Chapter 3's focus on the discursive rationalities of neoliberalism the approach assumes that even alternative subjectivities are always already co-opted by power thus rendering resistance impossible:

[i]f neoliberalism "recognises" political resistance as the performance of neoliberal subjectivity, there is no way of resisting that which remains wholly outside neoliberalism. In other words, there is no uncontaminated form of, or space for, political resistance. (Bondi and Laurie 2005, 400)

In this somewhat disconcerting (yet widely recognised) capacity, neoliberalism is a dangerously reflexive and flexible agent; resistance is wholly co-opted by power. But this is an inherently problematic assertion, not only because 'it always places "social forces" as reactive and capital as taking the initiative' (Larner and Walters 2004, 510), but also in the assumptions it makes as to who "sees" the dynamic relationship between resistance and co-

option.<sup>3</sup> Between the lines of Chapter 3 the discussion effectively debunks its own conceptual premise by providing commentary on the co-option of *all* available positions; either I have played the “god-trick” of ‘seeing everything from nowhere’ (Haraway 1988, 581), or I too am co-opted. Trusting that it is already clear that there is no Archimidean stance assumed in this socially interested research project, the commentary in Chapter 3 on “recognised” resistance is therefore guilty of both a biased apportioning of reflexivity in matters of co-option and a conveniently narrow understanding of resistance. Following the conceptual, epistemological and ethical correctives already discussed above, Chapter 6 presents an analysis of volunteers’ ethnography that recognises them as reflexive agents who negotiate, contest and subvert the neoliberalised aspects of global citizenship promoted on the ICS programme. In order to explore these reflexive interactions with discursive rationalities, the interpretation of data turns to nuanced conceptualisations of resistance that are related to post-structuralist thought. Thus, the analysis in Chapter 6 applies the same “thick” understanding to social life as that applied to neoliberalism in Chapter 3. From this perspective resistance reveals itself in subtle forms that affirm subjects’ reflexivity at the contested sites where power and people meet.

Though resistant to unifying themes, post-structuralist thought is replete with examples of how resistance takes on subtle and nuanced forms. Homi Bhabha (1984) and Henry Gates Jr. (1983) write on mimicry and parody as a mode of resistance; Frantz Fanon writes on the use of irony in the struggle against French imperialism (1969); Hélène Cixous on grammar and language as media to resist patriarchy (1976) and Judith Butler’s interpretation of the ‘performative’ is always open to subversive ‘slippage’ (Butler 1997). These important positions on resistance question totalising dichotomies and inform research foci on the ‘ambivalence’ (Mitchell 2000; Rancière 2010) and ‘ambiguity and contradictions’ (Thomas and Davies 2005b) that are folded into participants’ interpretations of social discourses. In what is termed as ‘micro-’ (Weedon 1999) or ‘routine’ (Prasad and Prasad 2000) resistance, researchers have sought to move away from the extremes of “revolution or nothing” to a place where the binaries of power-people and oppression-resistance break down and resistance emerges in varied and novel forms such as through a ‘politics of reinscription’:

[c]ontrasting with the notion of resistance as revolution the focus in the politics of reinscription frame is shifted to situated and contingent forms of resistance and agency. Resistance is often small-scale and subtle, located within specific contexts and for

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<sup>3</sup> To be clear: Liz Bondi and Nina Laurie’s observation here is presented as part of a group of articles that explore ways in which subjects “work” the (co-opting) spaces of neoliberalism (2005; also Power 2005; Lewis 2009).

specific social groups. There is no assumption that these local struggles are part of a spectrum of oppression or a totalising emancipatory project, although they might well be. Thus, it refutes the ‘romanticised’ view of power underpinning the politics of revolution framing, recognising that there is no place beyond power that can be reached through ‘real’ resistance. (Thomas and Davies 2005a, 720)

Such ‘rescaling’ to the subtle practices of reinscription follows Butler and others by recognising that ‘language itself is action’ (Prasad and Prasad 2000, 389) and that, in the dispersal of discourse through societies, ‘citational practices’ are replete with opportunities to resist and subvert ‘power’s social script’ (Gregson and Rose 2000). With this accent on subjects’ agency and a de-emphasis of oppression, research performances of dominant forms of power are refused:

rather, the emphasis is on the promotion of a multiple politics that recognises limits and differences, and on a form of feminist activism and struggle that may not result in radical rupture or apocalyptic change but may, nevertheless, be effective. Rather than focusing on revolution, the forms of resistance portrayed in post-structuralist feminisms are of a more localised and small-scale nature, centring on the destabilising of truths, challenging subjectivities and normalising discourses. (Thomas and Davies 2005a, 720)

Taking such qualifications to the notion of resistance and incorporating them into the analysis of data provides a robust conceptual framework that complicates the ‘co-option’ of resistance such that it might be ‘reclaimed’ for the agentic “reinscriptors” of normalising discourses.

Where this takes us is a space in analysis that is open to ‘dis-identification, counter-identification, subversion and reversal of dominant discourses’ (ibid., 718); a ‘subversive place’ or a ‘space between representations and the conditions that make them possible’ (Knights and Kerfoot 2004, 446). In this space are located ‘moments of micro-political resistance’ that give the opportunity to identify how dominant positions offered by discourse are contested by individuals and groups drawing on discursive resources to give rise to positions that subvert those offered by power. These can be looked upon as ‘small wins’ that constitute incremental changes where attitudes and approaches and the everyday practices that rise out of them push the world in a direction not wholly subservient to the impositions of neoliberal (and other) forms of power (Meyerson and Fletcher 1999). Documenting such ‘wins’ contributes to a more ‘generative understanding of resistance at the micro-level’ (Thomas and Davies 2005a, 726) and, in doing so, locates resistance in its emergent – and potentially cumulative – form. Done well, such perspectives lend much to the idea of ‘research for a better future’ by ‘offer[ing] an appealing alternative, opening up new lines of enquiry rather than closing analysis down, as might be implied by a return to the apparent certainties of “ideology” and “resistance”’ (Jackson 2002a, 327).



In this project of ‘opening rather than closing’ a commensurate mode of data analysis involves ‘reading for difference rather than dominance’ - attending to transcripts and field notes and imagining the spaces between representations; the reversal, reworking and reinscription of dominant discourses in a research practice that works towards an explicit end: ‘to uncover or excavate the possible’ (Gibson-Graham 2008, 623). Doing so writes into being the possibilities fundamental to a better future. Chapter 6 is dedicated to this task, reading the data for difference to provide an account of global citizenship on the ICS programme that, I argue, should be understood not as co-option but as the subversive mode of resistance set out here.

#### 5.4.2 From Chapter 4 to 7: resistance in an affective world

In Chapter 4, power was imagined as working ‘at the molecular level of bodies’ in a ‘shift of governance from discipline to biopolitical control’ (Clough 2008, 2-3). In this affective turn the study considered the embodied forms of power that might contribute to the concept of global citizenship on the ICS programme. The account of the ‘Spectacle of Development’ and the marketing of ICS is resigned to

[t]he growing realisation that there are landscapes of space, time and experience that have been ceded too readily to powerful naturalising forces which erase the prospect of political action even before it starts by producing *backgrounds*, latent worlds that [...] make certain aspects of the events we constantly come across not so much hard to question as hard to even think of as containing questions at all. (Thrift 2007, 19, original emphasis)

Development in the media is one such *background*; a ‘latent world’ of unknowable but palpable affective transmissions that are re-circulated in the marketing of global citizenship. The argument followed that the British public is ‘primed’ to receive development and interpret global citizenship in affectively circumscribed ways, and that the ICS programme represents a mobilisation of global citizens that is similarly delimited by engineered affects. The commentary was purposely speculative and made reference to the ‘autonomy of affect’ that makes it an ‘unstable object of governance’ (Anderson 2007, 162; Massumi 1995; 2002). Yet, despite these qualifications, there is a strong conviction by the end of the Chapter that the media and the ICS programme are both conduits of affects that are tied intimately with the interests of power and neoliberal governance.

In light of the present discussion, what Chapter 4 might tell us about power and affect must be balanced according to the conceptual, epistemological and ethical concerns outlined above. For instance we cannot ignore the vast literatures from Cultural Studies that speak directly to the critique presented in Chapter 4 and though it is not articulated in

such terms, there is somewhere between the lines an implicit belief that consumers of the media spectacle must be the ‘cultural dopes’ that Stuart Hall and others evoked to rebuke exactly such passive notions of subjectivity (Hall 1981; 1991). As a counterpoint this not only calls into question the conceptual conflation of culture (the media) and power but also intersects with the ethical indiscretion of including passive subjects as participants in research. It cannot be that an account of culture as, to use Hall’s phrase, ‘an updated form of the opium of the people’ (1981, 446), can pretend to either inform as to how social relations play out, or, in a subtle difference, in some way precede or frame discussion of social relations.

This demands therefore that we take more seriously the autonomy of affect and resist the temptation to couch interpretations in the meta-discourses that so often subordinate life’s multiplicity to power. This brings great potential to this study and the project of developing an anti-capitalocentric account of social relations that is open to global citizenship’s own multiplicity. Volunteering is a labour distinct from others in that self-advancement and monetary motivations are balanced – and often outweighed – by volunteers’ sense of social participation (Sherraden 2001). Embedded within this space of social participation, argue Fiona Smith and her colleagues, are ‘wider emotional repertoires’ where ‘belonging, pleasure, sorrow or anger may all be tied up in the emotional experiences of volunteers’ and these predicate ‘their relations with others’ (2010, 261). Most importantly this means that ‘volunteering is not only embedded in the formal organisational spaces of the voluntary sector, but is excessive beyond this’ (*ibid.*, 272). It should also be recalled that the emotional and affective element is intensified when volunteering involves work in the broad field of International Development. Such spaces of development are richly affective, meaning that the practice of volunteering ties together the always present injustices with the bodily and inter-subjective connections inherent to development work (see Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012; Hardy 2012; Humble 2012; 4.3.4). Given these aspects to volunteering there follows an opportunity to make inquiry sensitive to embodied experience and explore what it might bring in terms of prefiguring alternatives to capitalism.

By embodied experience I refer specifically to the broadening body of work on affect in the social sciences and in particular human geography. In Chapter 4 I drew on two distinct sets of literatures that are informed respectively by neo-Darwinian and Spinozan-Deleuzian (via Massumi) interpretations of affect. What unites these literatures is the conviction that ultimately affects are knowable and can therefore be harnessed; this is a key

presupposition in the exploration of affective power. In Chapter 7 however these perspectives on affect are revisited with the ethos that such embodiments cannot successfully be reduced to words, nor can they fit neatly into our preconceptions of power – no matter how dynamic we believe (or will) it to be. Consequently our worlds’ constitutive affects – ‘hatred, shame, envy, jealousy, fear, disgust, anger, embarrassment, sorrow, grief, anguish, pride, love, happiness, joy, hope ...’ (Thrift 2004a, 59) – emerge via ‘intense autonomic bodily reactions that do not simply reproduce the trace of a political intention and cannot be wholly recuperated within an ideological regime of truth’ (Spinks 2001, 23). This is – perhaps counterintuitively – a politically prudent move as we begin to open research to the aspects of life that resist the grasp of discourse, power and neoliberalism. This matters a great deal. To be discursively oppressed or constructed, from this point, is no longer a possibility; the world, at least in part, is not determined by imaginative (and imagined) technologies of governance but by the inter-subjective and felt movements that emanate from the body. Such a turn to affect, argues John Dewsbury, ‘represents a genuine and important shift away from thinking life solely in terms of *power knowledge*’ by locating meanings through ‘that which speaks to the affirmation of life itself, to our feeling, desires, and beliefs that give us investments in the world and which make us feel that we belong’ (2003, 1928, original emphasis). Amid this sensuous aesthetic, terms such as ‘circumscription’, ‘delimitation’ and ‘subjugation’ fall from analytical vernacular as a world subordinated to power gives way to that which makes us human, that which makes us connect, and that which brings hope of a better future.

The serious question remains however of how embodied and affective connections might prefigure alternatives to capitalism. In fact putting aside neoliberalism and documenting affect sits uneasily with those who prefer their politics confrontational; such ‘touchy feely’ methods (Crang 2003) rub against the instincts of researchers preoccupied with rigour and inclined to direct action. For such people affective research will perhaps always lack political drive and never hit hard at the grave injustices to which we are witness (see Castree and MacMillan 2004; Lorimer 2008). The “political punch” however is present. Nigel Thrift has argued that affective methods ‘want to make things *more* political, *much more* political’ by opening ‘alternatives and corresponding forms of dissent’ (2003a, 2021, original emphasis). The task set is to embrace these connections that avoid the ‘blind political calculus’ (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 342) of ascribing people to a series of pre-defined – and potentially insipid, attritional or oppressed – political positions. This brings

us back to the importance of intersubjectivity and the sense of belonging inherent to an affective space:

that precise moment of connection that draws you into a sense of belonging – of beginning to ‘feel-in-place’ more than you were a moment before. We are speaking here of the “property that founds all possible belonging”: that moment coming into being by virtue of a pure ‘being called’. This is the moment where world and individual, folded together, call each other into existence. (Dewsbury 2003, 1910)

Such belonging emerges in social spaces such as that of volunteering. Its intersubjectivity calls forth ‘affective bonds’ that may give rise to new forms of “collective will” (Mouffe 2005, 51). As J.K. Gibson-Graham have argued, if research is to avoid power-centric research performances, it is our task to document these ‘nascent’ connections so that they may find ‘room to move and grow’ (2008, 620).

Folding this back into the analysis of volunteering (and whatever it is we research), we must consider that experience ‘emerges less from prior-intentioned actions than from embodied responses to external stimuli’ (Conradson 2003, 1984). Therefore feelings that rise out of intersubjective moments do not originate from the cognitive aspects of ethics, politics or religion. Nor do they arrive through a power-saturated television spectacle or a body of Government policy documents. Instead, feelings for, with and between others, are borne out of the affected body whose autonomy rejects compromise to form intense and authentically felt connections with other people. The body thus ‘emerges as a *political presence*; the politically present body demands its rights on behalf of social justice’ (Pelias 2007, 186, original emphasis). This is social life in its rawness, it cannot be appeased, cannot be spun, nor can it be faked. However much the “monolith” of capitalism reaches into volunteering and global civil society, its affective moments ensure that in important ways it is always able to escape. This is not to posit that affective life lies *always* automatically outside or opposite capitalism and power (Ettlinger 2009; Vrasti 2011) – the growing evidence on engineered affects attests to this - but rather to explore the possibilities of how ‘affective life may be an ‘outside’ (Anderson 2012, 30).

Doing research and analysis this way does not close doors but rather opens ways to exploring alternatives writing a world where “difference” is given space to ‘move and grow’; the incorporation of affect into research levels out the field and enables us ‘to “join with” rather than “know and save”’ (Canella and Lincoln 2011, 82). This takes the idea of struggle and fades out the idea of oppression and instead fuses it with the politics of hope, of collective action and of endless possibilities and potentialities. It is futile to attempt to counter power on its own terms, we cannot after all ‘control or redistribute it’ (Rose 1997,

254). We can, however, offer alternative worlds that pick apart and bypass power and ground them at the very rich site of the body. Justice, solidarity and related concepts are therefore addressed on *our* terms rather than on abstract market logic. Justice, write Norman Denzin and Michael Giardina, ‘extends beyond fair selection procedure or the fair distribution of the benefits of research across a population’ rather it ‘involves principles of care, love, kindness, and commitment to shared responsibility, to honesty, truth, balance and harmony’ (2007, 24). The importance of this is difficult to overstate: predicating such concepts as justice and solidarity on these terms restores their intrinsically human aspects and fades out the cold, dehumanising rationalities of market logic (Darder and Mirón 2006).

Chapter 7 puts this into practice, using the body as an ‘instrument of research’ (Longhurst et al. 2008; 2.6.2) and presenting data in ways that attempts to remain faithful to non-representational phenomena such as affect.

### 5.5 Closing comments

This chapter makes the argument that caution is necessary before research embraces an all-enveloping notion of power. Neoliberalism may be the predominant form of power but its almost omnipresence cannot be conflated with a research performance of its omnipotence. This is especially significant if social justice is at stake and it is important to understand what stands between this moment of undoubted injustice and a future moment of more justice. This means stripping away some of the more imaginative and excitable understandings of capitalism and neoliberalism to render a more balanced and realistic concept of that which imposes and perpetuates injustice. Specifically, we should push against the more dystopian understandings of capitalism that seem to revel in its indiscriminate enveloping of social life.

The discussion here identifies two ways of working towards this: first by seeking out subversive performances where the reinscription of discourse, even only momentarily, breaks the iterative chains that are imagined when power is thought of as discourse; and second by making the turn to affective methods where elements of embodied experience are allowed, in the collection and presentation of data, to sit outside the neoliberal frame that has become a staple of social science research. These positions and research imperatives are taken into the empirical Chapters 6 and 7 respectively in an attempt to provide an anti-capitalocentric account of the world that, to paraphrase Cornel West (2004), reminds us what we look like at our best and lures us towards the hope of a better future.

In Chapter 3 I explicated the ways that global citizenship is set out for volunteers on the ICS programme. I argued that the ICS version of global citizenship is predicated on a ‘thin’ understanding of development and a strong emphasis on domestic voluntarism and self-advancement. Development, as it is taught and imagined by the programme, is a dehistoricised and depoliticised concept that is closely associated with neoliberal practices in the South. Volunteers are pushed to use their development work to embark on a ‘project of the self’ that allies subjects with the neoliberal designs on active and self-governing citizens. The result is a volunteering programme that offers a distinctly neoliberal subject position to participants based on a “soft” version of global citizenship.

The ICS ‘fight against poverty’ aims at ‘creating a network of young people who make a lifelong contribution as advocates for international development’. ‘No prior knowledge is required’ and pre-departure and on-placement training promises to educate volunteers about international development (volunteers.org). As we have seen in Chapter 3, the material provided by DfID for the programme provides largely uncritical perspectives on development that fit broadly into neoliberalised development imaginaries and practices as they are identified in related academic work (for example: Kothari 2005; Biccum 2007; Ilcan and Philips 2010). From here, and as I have argued above, we begin to see how the pedagogy of ICS may, drawing on Paolo Freire’s distinction, take on an ‘instrumental’ rather than ‘emancipatory’ role (Shor and Freire 1986; Freire 1970; Hanson 2010; 3.2.1) and, following through this line of thought may produce advocates for a ‘neoliberal version’ of development (see Biccum 2005; 2007). The prospect is of ICS volunteers gaining understandings of development on markedly depoliticised and dehistoricised terms and advocating for the neoliberalising approaches associated with such imaginaries.

In this chapter I examine the ways that volunteers “work” the discursive world of ICS to emerge as subjects who are well equipped to *harden* the “soft” version of global citizenship offered by the programme. The discussion draws on ethnographic data from interviews and focus groups to evidence the ways that global citizenship is understood and practiced by volunteers on the ICS programme. The presentation and analysis of the data is informed by the discussion in the previous Chapter (5) where I make an ethical commitment to recognise social relations outside of a power-centric analytical frame. This takes the form of reading the data against alternative discourses that suggests ways that volunteers challenge or subvert the discursive construction of global citizenship on the ICS programme. This involves a practice of reading for difference, presenting people as

reflexive subjects and exploring ways that the impositions of power are negotiated, subverted and resisted. The result is an account of global citizenship on the ICS programme that, in important ways, pushes against the subject position offered by the programme. I therefore make the case that - even in the absence of a critical pedagogy of development and with the emphasis on CV-building – volunteers nonetheless generate rich understandings of development and citizenship that shows them to be less “soft” and more “critical” global citizens. The structure of the chapter mirrors that of Chapter 3 where development and the self, as constitutive elements of global citizenship, form the organising themes of the discussion.

### **6.1 Development and the ‘global’ of global citizenship: critical perspectives on development**

To think in terms of a “development imaginary” is simultaneously to recognise development’s discursive power while also acknowledging its discursive constitution, and therefore the possibility of disruption as discourse circulates through (or *as*) social and cultural formations. In the field of development this is especially relevant in light of a prominent area of thought that theorises the entire idea of development as a discursive expression of power, and this relationship between power, discourse and development presents an opportunity to put into practice the approaches to research set out in the previous Chapter.

In the early part of the 1990s, amidst a growing perception that ‘the project of development’ was failing, a small but influential body of literature brought critical perspectives to the very idea of development itself and its production of knowledge as a form of power-discourse. Adopting postcolonial and feminist perspectives, scholars via, most notably, Michel Foucault and Edward Said, contended that ‘development is much more than just a socio-economic endeavour; it is a perception which models reality, a myth which comforts societies, and a fantasy which unleashes passions’ (Sachs 1992, 1). Taking aim at development as power-discourse important work began to emerge that, through a genealogy of development, worked to expose its western-centricity. Arturo Escobar, a central proponent of what would become “postdevelopmentalism”, traces ‘the advent of development in the third world’ to the Bretton Woods Conference<sup>1</sup> and indicts what would

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<sup>1</sup> The Bretton Woods Conference (1944) put in place international institutions to ensure that ‘nations should consult and agree on international monetary changes which affect each other. They should outlaw practices which are agreed to be harmful to world prosperity, and they should assist each other to overcome short-term exchange difficulties’ (World Bank 1944). The Conference resulted in the founding of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (the predecessor to the World Trade Organisation (WTO)) that would oversee the recovery of the post-war global financial system. Escobar contends that the conference served ‘to keep the existing core nations of the

follow in the post-war acceleration of global capitalism:

[a]lmost by fiat, two-thirds of the world's peoples were transformed into poor subjects in 1948 when the World Bank defined as poor those countries with an annual per capita income below \$100. And if the problem was one of insufficient income, the solution was clearly economic growth. (1995, 23-24)

The performative function of distinguishing between 'developed' and 'under-developed', along with the concomitant hierarchy of First, Second and Third Worlds, reduced more than two billion people 'in all their diversity' to 'a mirror that defines their identity, which is really that of a heterogeneous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenising and narrow minority' (Esteva 1992, 7). On the one hand this distinction formed the rhetorical foundation on which were built expressions of epistemic power through the emphasis on expertise and related concepts such as technicalisation and professionalisation in development, while on the other it cleared the ground for a discursive refashioning of the cultural and social lives of huge swathes of the planet's people.

As a form of "epistemic imperialism", the former comes through quite strongly as technical and professional solutions are emphasised and normalised through the processes of iteration; "development speak" is laden with solutions, expertise and professionalisation. These ideas, writes Jonathan Crush, 'do not arise in a social, institutional or literary vacuum', rather they are

assembled within a vast hierarchical apparatus of knowledge production and consumption sometimes known, with metaphorical precision, as the 'development industry'. This industry is itself implicated in the operation of networks of power and domination that, in the twentieth century, have come to encompass the entire globe. (1995, 5)

Thus development discourse is always 'avowedly strategic and tactical' (ibid.) and critical inquiry should attend to the ways that 'power relations are clearly implied in this process; certain forms of knowledge are dominant and others are excluded' (McEwan 2001, 103). One important way that critics have sought to engage with these power relations is by drawing attention to the 'resounding silences' (Cornwall 2007) of development discourse and arguing they produce a "concealment" or "amnesia" of and around empire (Kothari 2005; Biccum 2013). Related to these silences are rearticulating practices, or "mainstreaming" of formally critical issues such as 'sustainability' (Scoones 2007) or the reduction of feminist identity struggle to 'bland talk of gender' (Smyth 2007). Such

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capitalist system together and going, which required continuous expansion', an expansion that 'placed Latin America and the rest of the periphery in a well-demarcated space within the capitalist world economy' (1995, 71-72). There is a large amount written from a similarly critical perspective, notably Amin (1976); Corbridge (1994); Rist (2003), among many others.



silences and reductions, in work of this type, are perceived as ‘the sleights of hand and mind that accompany the production of ‘knowledge’ for development’ (Cornwall 2007, 477; 3.2.1).

Taking critical positions on development as a power-discourse, then, asks of discourse ‘who can ‘know’?’ and ‘what criteria of politics does it put into effect?’ through a strategy of “repopulating” the silences around history, empire and power (Escobar 1995, 206). This is an undertaking informed by postcolonialism: ‘to recover the long historical and contemporary voices of the marginalised [as] a powerful critique of ‘development’ and an increasingly important challenge to dominant ways of apprehending North-South relations’ (McEwan 2008, 27).

In an ambitious but hopefully wholly plausible analysis of data from interviews and focus groups with ICS volunteers the following section of the chapter presents the ways that volunteers themselves generate postcolonial critiques of the ICS-DfID imaginary of development. I argue that they question the very idea of development, fill its silences and explore the absences that demark the presence of neoliberalism in the ICS-DfID version of development. Accordingly, I present the volunteers as generative of critical positions that we might, following the terms set out in the previous Chapter, posit as resistant of the neoliberal version of global citizenship offered by ICS. Throughout I recall the ICS-DfID and British Government imaginary of development so as to stage a meeting between the discourses and, hopefully, illustrate the ways that we can perceive these ICS volunteers as producers of postcolonial critiques of the Government’s discourse on development. I conclude with the argument that we should take seriously the idea that these volunteers take on critical and resistant forms of knowledges of development during their time on the ICS programme.

#### 6.1.1 Empire and development: evidence from the field

Colonialism is one country’s political and economic control over another. Usually, this was richer, developed countries taking control of poorer, less developed countries. Colonialism began in the 1400s and most colonies had gained independence by the 1980s - ICS training material, 2011.

Necessarily elliptical, perhaps, but nonetheless marked by an absence: the version of development presented by ICS makes little reference to either colonialism or neocolonialism as factors in contemporary global inequality. History and the IFIs

(International Finance Institutions),<sup>2</sup> in fact, are kept well clear of critical perspectives (if mentioned at all) and development education on the ICS programme does little to promote critical versions of global citizenship (3.2.1).

At an ICS orientation for departing volunteers in London I was invited to take part in the developing training provided by Progressio, an ICS consortium member that sends volunteers to El Salvador, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The orientation forms the main part of the development teaching on the programme and involves both teacher- and volunteer-led elements. The first session was entitled “What is Development?” and began with a presentation given by a representative from Progressio that used a standardised ICS script and visual graphics. As would be expected the content of the script and visuals drew on information provided by DfID and followed the narrative of development and volunteering identified in Chapter 3. No reference was made to historical perspectives and the IFIs appeared only in their capacity as providers of statistics. Instead, development was presented via acronyms – MDGs, WB, GDP, IMF [below, slide 1] – with an emphasis on the progress made in development thanks to the co-ordination provided by the MDGs [2]. The final slide [3] reiterates the performance of ICS volunteers working to ‘train and educate local communities’ and returning to the UK to begin active citizenship projects. Through these emphases, the Progressio presentation produced an understanding of development consistent with that of DfID and the wider Government. The presentation, then, would potentially provide invaluable data: this was the dispersal of development knowledge through a third sector voice, the passing and working of power-discourse “in action”.

After taking the volunteers through the presentation, concept checking and eliciting responses according to a pre-prepared crib sheet, the presenter concluded, in mocking resignation, ‘well, there’s the Government’s version but you won’t find any statistics where you’re going, and in my experience development is about names, faces and places’ (Progressio Programme Co-ordinator). This was a significant moment in the meeting. The presenter’s comment offered a reply to the technicalised account of ‘issues’ and ‘challenges’ he had presented; his comment opened a gap in discourse and presented it to the volunteers as controvertible and demonstrated that slippage between the two is possible.



[1]



[2]



[3]

The second part of the session was more volunteer-centred. Following the presentation each country group was presented with a bullet-pointed history of their country and asked to act out prominent ‘challenges to development’ in a brief play. Of the three countries, the Zimbabwe group’s performance drew the most attention. Their country fact sheet was focussed on recent history: the redistribution of land, Robert Mugabe’s Government and the Morgan Tsvangirai power share; the earliest point was ‘Gained independence in 1963’, apparently evidence of the ‘resounding silences’ discussed above. However, again, following the Progressio presenter, there was slippage as what followed was a semi-improvised theatrical performance featuring a domineering Cecil Rhodes and some terrified and displaced native Zimbabweans in a brief but pointed indictment of British colonialism in Zimbabwe. Simply but notably the volunteers related current levels of development to British imperialism – despite this not being part of the ICS training on development. This marked the beginning of the theme of colonialism discussed in this section of the chapter.

Practicing ‘convenience sampling’ (2.4) after the session I conducted an interview with a returning volunteer. This is his response to my question “Why are there different levels of development in Zimbabwe compared to the UK?”

Zimbabwe’s levels of development? ... I think it’s colonialism, that’s what I’ve always thought ... what we have here ... what they scrape we spill and like it’s stuff that we ... we went to these places and we robbed from them ... and not gave nothing back, we took what we wanted and then ran away.

They went to these countries and sort of pillaged them in a way to a certain extent and then just left them be and then expect them to try and keep up sort of thing ... and when it comes to corruption, you know, people say that Zimbabwe is corrupt and that but I think our country’s corrupt in loads of ways, just look at the news or you look at the politicians and that, but we’re just really good at hiding it because we’ve done it for so long. (Taz, Zimbabwe)

Taz’s answer presents a useful point of departure. His ‘scrape’ and ‘spill’ analogy gets at global inequalities through a metaphorical image of excessive consumption and the waste it produces. He then links colonialism to contemporary levels of development and – via ‘robbing’, ‘pillaging’ and ‘giving nothing back’ – argues it a causal factor. Taz also (briefly) deconstructs the idea of corruption and its Othering (de Maria 2008) in development discourse, using examples of British media and political discourse to contrast – and contend – received understandings. In this way a normalised discourse of citing Southern corruption as a barrier to development is reversed, thereby asking questions of – and even subverting – the British Government’s constant recourse to a “moral duty to assist” developing countries (Cameron 2011). These elements to Taz’s response come together as

a counter-narrative of development, one that tests the limits of that taught on the ICS programme.

In his recourse to colonialism and (more implicitly) neo-colonialism, Taz touches on a range of sub-themes within the very prominent theme of colonialism and neo-colonialism that came through mainly in response to three of the questions used in the interviews and focus groups:

What is development?

Why are there different levels of development in [country] compared to the UK?

What kind of 'development impact' are you having on your project?

To these questions volunteers such as Taz provided textured answers that spoke through the DfID imaginary of development to provide nuanced critiques that emanated from both the past (colonial) and present (neo-colonial) practices of Britain either as an imperialist actor or as part of a broader complex of continued imperialist presences in the South. A useful visualisation of the themes that came out of the responses to these questions is provided by this word cloud, generated from the table, below:



fig 6.1

The table (right) ranks the top 35 development-related words in responses by ICS volunteers to the three questions above. From the list are omitted articles, pronouns, conjunctions and so forth as are nouns (such as ‘million’ and ‘weather’) and adjectives (‘interesting’, ‘good’) which seem unlikely to reveal much.

Of the 79 volunteers interviewed, more than two-thirds (61) introduced the theme of colonialism when the interview or focus group moved towards explanations of development and global inequalities. As can be seen from the word cloud and table above there is a prominence of historical themes (‘history’ itself appears 20 times) ‘colonialism’ (and derivatives ‘colonial’, ‘colonised’, ‘colony’, ‘postcolonial’, ‘neocolonial’), ‘imperialism’ (‘imperialist’, ‘empire’), which is accompanied by a strong emphasis on ‘Britain’ (‘Brit’, ‘British’, ‘England’, ‘English’, ‘London’) and some related themes that, at this stage, hint at the ways volunteers offer evaluative positions: ‘hierarchy’, ‘oppression’, ‘power’ and (even) ‘genocide’. Of note also is the prevalence of judgements to do with ‘privilege’ and ‘advantaged’ and opinion-related lexis such as ‘guilty’ (guilt) and ‘responsible’ (‘responsibility’). At this stage, though no more than a snapshot, this coding of the data provides a representative overview of the high prevalence of history in volunteers’ own understandings of development and that references to it were often not merely passing but rather specific evocations of British colonialism (though this was clearly skewed by the fact that the majority of the interviews and focus groups took place on placements in India).<sup>3</sup>

Sharing parallels with the work of Escobar and others discussed at the beginning of this chapter, volunteers frequently drew on both historical and contemporary North-South (or, more accurately Britain-South) power-relations. Illustrative examples came in interviews with volunteers Amardeep and Aken:

Britain [has a responsibility] predominantly because of its colonial past, particularly in a place like India you can’t just come and like completely rape and pillage and use the land

Word	Count	Similar Words
Development	163	develop, developed, developing, development
Poverty	120	poverty, poor, poorer
Britain	120	English, England, British, Brit, Brits
India	115	India
Issues	106	issue, issues, problem, problems
Government	69	governance, governing, government, governments
Change	65	change, changed, changes, changing
Responsible	64	response, responses, responsibility, responsible, responsive
Impact	44	impact, impactful
Society	43	societies, society
Global	35	global, globally
International	35	international, internationally, internationals
Rich	34	rich
Colonial	24	colonial, colonialism, colony, colonisation, colonised, neocolonial, postcolonial
History	20	history, historical
Politics	18	political, politics
Structure	16	structural, structure, structured
Power	15	power, powerful
Class	12	class, classes
Guilty	11	guilty, guilt
London	10	London
MDG	10	MDG, MDGs
Western	9	western, westerners
Empire	9	empire, imperialism, imperialist
Economic	7	economic, economically, economics
Privilege	7	privilege, privileges
Advantaged	4	advantage, advantaged
Inequality	3	inequality
Capitalist	1	capitalist
Egalitarian	1	egalitarian
Genocide	1	genocide
Hierarchy	1	hierarchy
Neoliberal	1	neoliberal
Oppression	1	oppression
Revolution	1	revolution

table 6.1

<sup>3</sup> Though it must also be noted that of the 24 countries that host ICS volunteers, 19 are former British territories.

until it serves you no purpose and then just leave it I feel like that's fundamentally wrong on a 101 different levels and I'll say it's wrong until I'm blue in the face, I don't care ... and quite often even Indians are like "you can't talk about the British like that"... yeah I can! Britain absolutely has responsibility to ... it's indebted (Amardeep, Rajasthan);

When I think about our country's history and specifically how India links into it ... like our wealth means that poverty is growing in other countries and so part of me, as an Englishman, I feel guilty. (Aken, Orissa)

These examples, though brief, can be used to organise the two ways that volunteers formulated their responses on development and colonialism. In the first excerpt Amardeep explicates Taz's link between the past and present (both, interestingly, use the verb 'pillage'), painting a pointedly negative image of British colonialism and claiming an 'indebtedness' that leads to a consequent responsibility. Aken's version similarly ties in the past but more clearly connects Britain's present prosperity with 'growing' levels of poverty elsewhere in the world. At hand, therefore, is an emphasis on the North's (Britain's, especially) interconnectedness with the South and how this is arranged temporally through Amardeep's frame of colonialism and Aken's of inter-dependence and, implicitly, neo-colonialism. As the analysis progresses, it will become clear that these two themes combine to produce an understanding of development that picks up many of the themes of postcolonial studies and, in so doing, takes a pointed critical standpoint on relations between Britain and the South.

Amardeep's damning version of colonialism – 'rape and pillage' – places Britain in a position of responsibility. Her recourse to responsibility, however, does not chime with the British Government's figuration of responsibility as a moral imperative to assist because it (somehow) 'has the tools, the expertise and the money' (Cameron 2011; 3.2.1). Rather, for Amardeep, Britain's responsibility is rooted in colonial domination and misuse of its most valuable commodities – people and land – leading to an insistence that Britain is 'indebted'. This is a potent discursive move. The British Government imaginaries of responsibility are marked by a sense of pride that might disingenuously concede 'the British people are not prone to self-aggrandising' but, in the same breath, insist that 'we should acknowledge the good that we do. Britain is keeping its promises [...] That says something about this country. And it is something we should be proud of' (ibid.). Amardeep deflates such nation-building hubris, invoking a sense of responsibility closer to shame than pride and driven by wrongs rather than the vacuous benevolence that underpins the Prime Minister's version of responsibility. Her use of the term 'indebted' also carries with it an effective deconstruction of the discursive power of 'debt' and the way it hierarchically positions creditors and debtors; it is now, in a subversion of dominant iterations, the Northern

power that owes a debt to the South. In this way Amardeep twists the global network of debt – an ‘efficient tool’ of Northern dominance over the South (George 1990) – in a refiguring of development discourse that instates a strong sense of the past and its ‘haunting’ of the present (Said 1978).

There was a similar aspect to the data when I asked a group of volunteers in Orissa about the development training they had received on ICS. Johanna offers quite pointed criticism:

I didn't really like the sense of responsibility because we're British because it's kind of like 'White Man's Burden' we've got to come out here and fix like it's our responsibility to fix everybody because they can't fix themselves like perfect that's ... I don't think that's the case at all so it wasn't out of that sense of responsibility that I got into this. (Johanna, Orissa)

For Johanna the sense of responsibility that came through the training clearly left her feeling discomfort. Her unease seems to lie in the idea that “we” *fix*, and “they” are *fixed* and the clearly dichotomous – and hierarchical – arrangement that implies. To express her unease she makes a strong reference to Rudyard Kipling's ‘White Man's Burden’ (1899) a poetic evocation of what its author claimed was ‘the business of introducing a sane and orderly administration into the dark places of the earth’ (Kipling [1899] quoted in Gilmour 2003, 125–26). Synonymous with empire and subject to critique, parody and satire, the poem has become a ‘lightning rod’ for ‘the opponents of imperialism’ (Brantlinger 2007, 172) and has thus become a theme in deconstructing (neo)imperial projections of power.<sup>4</sup> Reading and re-reading Johanna's criticism of the training against these anti-imperialist positions reinforces the sense of distance she puts between her and the training's (DfID's) projection of responsibility to ‘fight global poverty’; for Johanna the past haunts the present and ‘[that's not why]... I got into this’. Continuing the literary theme, Chloe in Chatrapur district, Orissa commented:

they've got to have some kind of critical engagement with development concepts in the training there was so much happy white people going to help “the less fortunate” and at times we were just like let's all put down *Heart of Darkness*! ... they need to have a more critical engagement of what they mean by development. (Chloe, Orissa)

Chloe's reflection on the training touches on themes discussed in Chapter 3 (94) as she hones in on the use of “less fortunate” in the pedagogical material. Like Johanna, she references a text that has come to be associated with imperialist Britain and colonial

<sup>4</sup> Recently a sense of “the Burden” has, disconcertingly, ‘resurfaced’ in post-9/11 ‘new imperialism’ (Wheatcroft 2002) as a justifying subtext to a reinvigorated ‘global sense of mission’ taken on by the US and its allies (Krugman 2004; also Bellamy Foster and McChesney 2004).

expansion. In Chinua Achebe's famous critique (1977)<sup>5</sup> of Joseph Conrad's 1899 novella he argues that *Heart of Darkness* 'projects the image of Africa as "the other world", the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilisation, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality' (1977, 783). The setting of one world antithetical to another, argues Achebe, evidences imperialism's need for 'constant reassurance' by comparing itself to (projections of) its colonies (ibid., 792).<sup>6</sup> As such, we get a sense of the weight behind Chloe's words, like Johanna she notes an unease at elements of the training provided by the ICS programme and makes use of an object of potent postcolonial criticism to express her concern.

Equally potent positions were also expressed by Abby in Karnataka 'because of what we did in the past and how we now benefit ... I think we should do something ...'; Tom in Tamil Nadu: 'I think guilty is probably too much but certainly some responsibility for the past' and Adam in Orissa 'I do feel some responsibility, it [colonialism] took a lot away and brought it back to England and we are now "rich"'. A sense begins to emerge of an unjust history shaping the duties and responsibilities of the present's global citizens. A rich example of this came out of an interview with Mitch, a volunteer on placement in Bihar:

for me it's simply a matter of like, you take any country that is developed quote unquote "richer" than any county in the world and the reason for it will be because they stole from other countries in some way or another that's what it comes down to I mean development's a lot uglier than we think because the way that we developed as a country, the way we developed in England was by stealing a load of other stuff from other countries and Bristol is a prime example I mean you go round and you look at this lovely university and these lovely cathedrals but the reason they're there is that they we built by slaves or by money from the slave trade pretty much most of the institutions were funded by money from the slave trade. (Mitch, Patna)

Consistent with Amardeep, Taz and others, Mitch's evocation of colonialism is one of power and injustice. Significant within this is the way that this echoes through the present, both in the wealth of Bristol and in the responsibility Mitch perceives after growing up in a city central to the colonial trade in slaves. Just as for postcolonial scholars the 'haunting' of the past is an important theme, so too for these volunteers is there an exploration of the past's presence.

The question is how far we take this, and to what extent can we argue that the volunteers discussed here carry with them the critical and emancipatory energies of

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<sup>5</sup> Achebe's essay has become synonymous with the book, accompanying it on both undergraduate reading lists and new editions of the text.

<sup>6</sup> Towards the close of his ranging and sophisticated deconstruction of *Heart of Darkness* Achebe writes 'the point of my observations should be quite clear by now, namely, that Conrad was a bloody racist' (1977, 788). For responses to Achebe see Hawkins (1979) and Watts (1983). Brantlinger (1985) provides an overview.



postcolonial perspectives on development. To this there is no definite answer, but - while remaining open to the extent to which we can push this - there is a quality to these volunteers' accounts that responds to, for instance, Edward Said's insistence that 'we must fully comprehend the pastness of the past, there is just no way in which the past can be quarantined from the present' (1993, 2). This is important; reading the volunteers' understandings of responsibility towards development in the South against a central theme of postcolonial criticism exposes in the first place the quarantining at work in Government discourse on development and from there reveals the way that the volunteers, in contrast, allow the past to resonate into the present, to inform present day relations. Mitch and Amardeep especially, along with other volunteers, therefore provide an incursive rejoinder by filling one of the voluminous silences of the ICS development imaginary; by voicing the past the 'symptomatic silences' of development begin to be disturbed (Said 1978; Biccum 2013). It is thus difficult to argue against the notion that volunteers carry the postcolonial struggle to the programme and Government discourse. The corollary for global citizenship is that it becomes infused with historical exploitation, more aware of injustices and consequently more critical.

If at this stage we recall the figuring of 'global poverty' through the euphemistic 'those less fortunate' and the historical lacunae of ICS development teaching and set this against the understandings voiced by volunteers, we begin to see that global citizenship takes shape on markedly different terms to those set out by the programme. Where volunteers such as Taz, Mitch, Aken and Amardeep emphasise their Britishness and think development through history and, subsequently, configure their sense of responsibility on these terms, an alternative assemblage of ties to other people - of citizenship - begins to emerge. Useful at this juncture is Anthony Smith's widely cited criticism of the global imaginary implied in the idea of a global citizenry: '[t]here are no 'world memories' that can be used to *unite* humanity; the most global experiences to date - colonialism and the World Wars - can only serve to remind us of our historic cleavages' (Smith 1990, 180). It is perhaps this that necessitates the silencing of history on the ICS programme. Perhaps DfID's global citizenship constitutes a 'form of forgetting' (Edkins 2003) where Britain's role in development rests on its (de-contextualised) access to capital, expertise and, in this case, volunteer mobility. For volunteers, on the other hand, this global encounter is not 'memoryless', it is full of vivid and still-felt histories that retain relevance in the now. Thus a fissure opens in the concept of "global" in ICS global citizenship: where it attempts to sweep away divisive and unequal collective global experiences the volunteers (re)integrate them, refusing to look away from the past as they move from North to South.

Pointedly, however, the volunteers do not view colonialism as a “historic cleavage”; it in fact comes through the data more as a shared history that brings forth solidarities and responsibilities. This is not apologism and should instead be seen as acknowledgement that colonialism and its fallout does not apply only to “Others” in the South but also subjectivities in the former powers: ‘the memory banks and histories are twinned and interpenetrate’ (Sylvester 1999, 712) resulting in ‘bonds between the coloniser and the colonised, which have shaped irrevocably the cultural identities of both and which survive decolonisation’ (Dirlik 2002, 445). The silences in the Government imaginary of development are disrupted by these bonds and volunteers add textured histories that inform notions of responsibility and global citizenship. Nowhere is this more evident than with a small number of volunteers of Indian origin:

I think well if my Gran hadn’t decided to come to England all those years ago I could be living a similar life to some of these people and that contributes to some guilt (Enita, Bihar);

I feel like, like I do have a duty because I think that I could have very easily, and maybe this is because I’m of Indian descent because I feel like this and maybe I would feel differently if I was white English because I could very easily be any one of these girls that were working in the community, very easily it could be me. And it’s not just me thinking that because I’m from the Indian diaspora I think I’d feel like that if I was working in Nigeria if I was working in wherever ... to somewhere that I had free education, free healthcare. (Amardeep, Rajasthan)

On the one hand tangential but on the other wholly relevant, Enita and Amardeep, both third generation British Indians, understand their connections and responsibilities through a history inexorably tied to colonialism and the mobilities it (selectively) offered post-independence. In a highly nuanced but related way, then, these ICS volunteers reinforce the views of Mitch, Taz and others by recognising their privileged position in relation to colonialism and its important bearing on the present. This is a potent critique: the volunteers are not merely *more* fortunate than their “unlucky” hosts but they in fact feel themselves tied in with the inequality of their meeting and from this they order notions of responsibility.

The volunteers discussed in this section of the chapter disrupt the historical silences of the British Government’s imaginary of development. Government discourse refuses to consider Commonwealth states as ‘embarrassing remnants of empire’ (Conservative Party 2009c, 22) instead emphasising ‘intense historical links to Britain’ and imagining (presumably) equitable ‘special relationships’ with former colonies (ibid.). Frequent reference is made to ‘ties’, ‘links’ and ‘bonds’ and they are central to performing Britain’s position in the world (FCO 2001; DfID 2009b; Cameron 2011). They remain, however,

ultimately decontextualised and performatively decontextualising; they constitute, in other words, silence. In contrast, volunteers animate their accounts of development and history with *imperialism* and *colonialism* (more loaded terms than DfID's *empire*) and connect them with critical references to *hierarchy*, *oppression* and *power*. Around these themes they build narratives that allow the past to 'haunt' the present and refuse to ignore such haunting, thereby exploring how the past presses on their present – and their presence in the South.

#### 6.1.2 Into the present: Britain and neocolonialism

Prominent commentators have it that there is little “post-” in this supposed postcolonial, post-independence period (Dirlik 1994; 2002; Huggan 1997; Sidaway 2000; Nash 2002; Robinson 2003), each questioning the “postness” of “postcolonial”:<sup>7</sup> a ‘prematurely celebratory’ (McClintock 1992) ‘misnaming of current realities’ (Boyce Davis 1994) that is ‘definitely not a chronological marker’ (Blunt and Wills 2000). Like Escobar and other critics of development discourse, literature in this area perceives less “the Wind of Change”<sup>8</sup> sweeping away Empire than a re-articulated – and perhaps more subtle - but nonetheless pervasive exertion of imperial power along the same geographical lines of pre-war Empire (of course this time with the United States more prominent). “Independence”, thus, does not mark a break with the past but rather masks an equally inequitable continuation into a contemporary period of “neocolonialism”. North-South relations perceived through the lens of neo-colonialism are marked by flows of power similar to those of formal colonialism and are channelled through economic, political and cultural globalisation. At base this involves perceiving causal relationships between prosperity in the rich areas of the world and poverty in poorer areas.

In interviews and focus groups Britain's position within such an imagined world order became a recurrent theme. Taz and Aken, above, allude to this where they make connections between poverty in the South and western excess (Taz) and, more specifically – ‘our wealth means that poverty is growing in other countries’ – Aken draws Britain and its elevated position into a causal relationship with poverty. While these might only be faint connections, they are indicative of volunteers imagining a global order that is undeniably

<sup>7</sup> For clarity: by “postcolonial” here I refer to its use as a temporal marker, distinct from the theoretical work of postcolonialism whose critical inquiry departs from the same questioning of the “postness” of the postcolonial period.

<sup>8</sup> In February 1960 the Conservative British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made a speech to the South African Parliament which marked a change in British policy in Africa. In an often-quoted excerpt he recognised ‘The wind of change is blowing through this continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact’. “Wind of Change” has since become shorthand for the decolonisation of Africa. A full recording and transcript is available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7203.shtml> and commentary (one of many) is provided by Myers (2000).

hierarchical in nature, with Britain somewhere near the top. This imagined order comes through more explicitly in a focus group discussion with volunteers in Tamil Nadu:

- Rachel:    developing countries are like on a ladder or something and the UK and the US are at the top  
 Jo:        We're kicking away the ladder  
 Ash:       So like we're not helping fully to let like developing countries progress yeah, well we're taking away what we had to develop from  
 Jake:       Because we developed the quickest ways and ...  
 Jo:        Because that's the best way for us to stay developed  
 Rachel:    To stay as a dominant world power  
 Jo:        By kicking away the ladder.

(Rachel, Ash, Jake, Jo, Tamil Nadu)

This is, by any reading, a cutting critique. The volunteers evoke and develop a particular “world system” that has a clear hierarchical structure with Britain ‘at the top’. The metaphor they use here is a familiar one and calls to mind Ha Joon Chang’s important critique of Northern economic interventionism, *Kicking Away the Ladder* (2002), in which he argues that ‘good governance’, as it is disseminated through the structural impositions (deregulation, uneven tariffs, debt) of the IFIs, works to stifle development and is thus, Chang argues, an expression of ‘neo-imperialism’ (2002, 10-13; also Hanlon 2012). The volunteers draw on this unsophisticated yet effective metaphor to provide, like Chang, a rhetorical image of a hierarchical ladder being kicked away by a global elite. In doing so the volunteers leave little to the imagination when it comes to Britain’s part in this ladder-kicking: it works to the end of remaining ‘a dominant world power’. Again this brings the volunteers closer to Chang’s and related work in which Britain is cited as, along with the United States, one of the main perpetrators of “ladder kicking”, both ‘aggressively’ promoting, via the IFIs (most prominently the IMF), free markets while simultaneously obfuscating the extent to which they themselves developed with the aid of state-regulated industries (2002, 2-7).

Other ICS volunteers, too, drew attention to this apparent hypocrisy. Mitch, as he continues to talk about Bristol, paints a quite vivid image of Chang’s thesis:

they were built by slaves or by money from the slave trade pretty much most of the institutions were funded by money from the slave trade so it's all about and I think that's why development is so difficult because what you're now saying to all these countries that didn't develop as quickly as us through no fault of their own we're now saying to them well you can't do what we did – you can't steal our stuff that stuff is ours even though we stole it from you which seems contradictory what you guys are going to have to do is develop in a sustainable and green way but that's very difficult because we didn't develop in a sustainable [way] ... (Mitch, Bihar)

Chang writes that ‘contrary to the popular myth [...] Britain has been an aggressive user, and in certain areas a pioneer, of activist policies intended to promote its industries’. For Chang this exposes hypocrisy as it is these ‘activist policies’ that Britain and the global elite ‘recommend to, and often force upon, the developing countries’ (2002, 5). In short: what served *us* is denied *them* and it is this condition that sustains uneven patterns of development. Mitch continues:

we had our industrial revolution and we burnt a shitload of coal and now we’re saying to these countries you can’t burn a shitload of coal and you can’t steal from us either we just look like massive hypocrites basically when we turn up and say don’t throw your rubbish out the window despite the fact that that’s exactly what we did, don’t burn fossil fuels despite the fact that that’s exactly what we did so I think for me I get very erm, I think that’s another reason I want to do international development because I think a lot of people don’t recognise that. (Mitch, Bihar)

Chang’s thesis weaves through Mitch’s words, he uses both terms ‘contradictory’ and [‘massive’] ‘hypocrites’ and there is an underlying sense that ladders are being kicked away as the conditions change for development in the South. Again Mitch demonstrates the ‘critical disposition’ identified as a defining feature of “critical” forms of global citizenship that, as discussed in Chapter 1 (1.1), calls forth a sense of injustice that leads to ‘action’ (Griffiths 1998). That Mitch perceives injustice and concludes ‘that’s another reason I want to do international development’ would suggest that his trajectory of global citizenship and its corollary commitments to development may carry some of the critical thrust of activist-academics such as Ha Joon Chang.

Within this area of critique a large amount is written on the IFIs (the WTO and IMF especially) whose imposition of economic conditions on trade and policy are linked to the perpetuation of uneven patterns of development. Briefly, in “the development of underdevelopment”<sup>9</sup> global institutions of governance are cited as ‘neocolonial’ (Stiglitz 2002) or ‘imperialist’ (Amin 2003) conduits of power that safeguard the interests of a global (Northern) elite. Setting aside for a moment the merits of arguments and counterarguments,<sup>10</sup> of significance here rather is the way that volunteers enter debates on the governance of the global economy. Tom, a volunteer in Burkina Faso, explained why he thought the country has low levels of development:

it really struggles with being a landlocked country in a period where there’s climatic problems but then I wouldn’t be naive to the wider international situation, so for

<sup>9</sup> A phrase originally used by Andre Gunder Frank. In *The Development of Underdevelopment* (1966) Frank develops Dependency Theory where capitalism arranges the world into a centre and periphery, only allowing the periphery (developing nations) conditional integration into the system. As a form of economic analysis dependency theory has largely fallen out of use but the critical thrust of a centre/core and a purposely distanced periphery has become a default position for many commentators (Ghosh 2001; Larrain 2013, among many more).

<sup>10</sup> Neither Joseph Stiglitz nor Samir Amin, for example, pretend to non-partisan positions.

example tariffs to sub-Saharan countries... I don't know in depth but so far as I'm aware there's these tariffs in place to sub-Saharan Africa ... so imports into sub-Saharan Africa don't have the same sort of duties as exports into the European Union do so protectionism in that sense from the European Union so a wider imbalance in trade agreements ... Europe and this is one of the key points of contention ... so people are saying "Africans go and develop" but it's very hard when there's this ... global inequity. (Tom, Burkina Faso)

For Tom the European Union's simultaneous emphasis on free trade while protecting its industries through tariffs is recognised as a barrier to development, a view entirely absent from DfID and ICS literature on development. Similarly critical was Adam who takes aim specifically at Britain's position in the governance of the global economy:

there are things the British Government are doing which are so detrimental to any kind of development purpose ... where we go in and say intellectual property rights all these kinds of things and you end up it's like we don't want you copying our drugs to make it easier to have access to them because our pharmaceutical companies need the money for it and then we're [the volunteers] going to go in and say "you don't know anything about health we're going to set up health camps for you!" ... but as long as you pay for the drugs from us. (Adam, Orissa)

It sits uneasily with Adam that his work as a volunteer is undermined by wider structural forces and, crucially, he perceives the British Government complicit in these forces. Adam's critique here centres on the WTO and its enforcement of the TRIPs agreement (Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) that binds member states to intellectual property laws. On patented and generic drugs the debate is polarised with – broadly – the IFIs, free market economists and (needless to say) TNCs (Transnational Corporations) on one side and left-leaning academics and activists on the other (Willet 2001). Criticism of TRIPs and the WTO is aimed at the precedence of market over social well-being and the 'tragedy' of restricted access to essential medicines (Archibugi and Filipetti 2010; Henry and Stiglitz 2010). Non-governmental organisations such the World Development Movement (2002), Oxfam (2003) and (the more radical) International Forum on Globalisation (1999) have spoken out against the TNC-WTO nexus and TRIPs. At the sharp end of these criticisms TRIPs is 'sordid' (Bello in Kwa 2003) and represents a 'colonial act' of western hegemony (Shiva 2001). Again, the debate is beyond the scope of the discussion here, of importance however is how and where Tom and Adam enter the debate.

Before considering volunteers' positions within these debates it helps to take the question to more data. For instance similar positions to those of Tom, Adam, Mitch and the group in Tamil Nadu were evident in a number of reflections of volunteers on the development training provided by the ICS programme. Becky aims her criticism on the training's focus on the IFIs and MDGs:

there was no engagement it was like “These are the MDGs read them tell us what you think they are, tell us what you think development is, stand by a picture that represents development” and that was the most ludicrous and kind of condescending ... and we’re all adults essentially and we’re not at school anymore we know how to critically engage with things, I don’t need to stand by pictures to tell me what I think. (Becky, Orissa)

Assuming critical distance from the training, Becky labels the training ‘ludicrous’ and ‘condescending’ precisely because of a lack of critical engagement. The case is similar for Joe and Johanna:

Joe: [it was] too basic: “what are the MDGs?” ... two hours of biting your tongue ... you got an hour of the MDGs put on a pedestal and no one questions these.

Johanna: I think they’re bullshit like I don’t agree with it ... I’d read a little a bit about the MDGs and ... you just realise that really this wasn’t the best way for governments and international institutions to focus on development issues it’s because of these MDGs all the governments and NGOs funnel money: “oh like that meets MDG 2 and 5 let’s put money in that” “and in 2015?” “oh no we’ll think of it in 2014” ... How can you spend so much money to train people and set up your projects but you haven’t even thought beyond your deadline? So you preach about sustainability but there is none really. (Joe, Johanna, Orissa)

These volunteers are well equipped to provide a response to development that draws obviously on alternative understandings. For Joe and Johanna, the ‘bullshit’ MDGs should be questioned as to their efficacy and the bureaucratic managerialism that moves funds between different acronyms. This is an echo of Ilcan and Phillips’ argument that the MDGs operate through ‘different forms of neoliberal rationalities of government’ (2010, 848). These ‘developmentalities’, Ilcan and Phillips argue, are fomented through ‘calculative practices’ expressed in ‘the language of targets, best practices and costs’ that ‘demands the need for better tools to “track progress”’ (ibid., 848-9; 3.2.1). In Johanna’s mocking of what she imagines a typical dialogue to be she elaborates these practices by tuning into a system where costs, targets and bureaucracy override development’s normative concerns.

Reading the data alongside these commentaries helps us situate the volunteers within the different modes of global citizenship identified in the opening Chapter of this thesis (1.1). In their criticisms of ladder kicking, tariffs, drug patents and MDG managerialism – practices, in Adam’s words, ‘so detrimental to any kind of development purpose’ - the volunteers enter into polarised debates that are drawn along the same lines of “soft” and “critical” modes of global citizenship. Of little importance here are the merits of the arguments within these debates, nor is it crucial to analyse the veracity of the claims volunteers use to support their positions. Rather, the central issue is where the volunteers stand within these debates and what that might tell us about the modes of global citizenship prevalent on the ICS programme.

Daniele Archibugi and Andrea Filipetti (2010) note that TRIPs is ‘fiercely denounced’ by civil activists; Shalmali Guttal (2007) points out that the IFIs are targeted by people’s movements and activists intent on ‘jam[ming] the gears of globalisation’ and Willett, on anti-globalisation protests in Washington D.C. in 2000, reports that ‘leftists have taken to the streets in public demonstrations against the IMF as an agent of globalisation’, it having ‘joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as a poster child for the evils of globalisation’ (2001, 594). In their critiques of ladder kicking, patents, tariffs and so forth the volunteers discussed here show themselves to carry with them, sometimes obviously, sometimes less so, the concerns of these activists, people’s movements and anti-globalisation leftists. This is significant and, recalling the distinction made between “soft” and “critical” iterations of global citizenship, the political substance of volunteers’ responses on these issues evidences that they are not those who, as David Cameron would have it, blithely ‘march against poverty’ but are rather global citizens with much to share with those who protest the manifestly unjust processes of neoliberal globalisation.

For DfID and the Coalition Government, ‘capitalism and development’ are, without irony or humility, Britain’s ‘gift to the world’ (Conservative Party 2009c, 38). It is the remedy, positioned far away from the cause, of uneven patterns of development. On TRIPs, for instance, the Department for International Development reasons:

A deal at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) would be an important ‘firewall’ against backsliding in the face of protectionist pressures [...] For all its faults, the multilateral, rules-based trading system overseen by the WTO is a boon for poor countries. A world without the WTO would be a world in which poor countries negotiated one-on-one with rich countries – and we all know where the power would lie. With the WTO, even the smallest country has a veto on any deal. Further, poor countries would lose access to the WTO’s impartial dispute settlement mechanism. (ibid.)

It takes little analysis to draw out the divergence between this position and that of the volunteers. For the volunteers the WTO *et al.* are most certainly not a ‘boon for poor countries’ and this faux compassion that warns of ‘rich countries’ exerting power wreaks of disingenuity especially in light of the cold fact that the UK economy is second only to the US in the global league of TRIPs-related copyright income (Story 2002). Not to labour the point: the ICS volunteer discourse critiques, subverts and resists that of the British Government and therefore strongly suggests elements to global citizenship that are incongruent with the neoliberalised version the programme seeks to foster.

## 6.2 Projects of the self

“The self”, as set out in Chapter 3, works through global citizenship on ICS in two



prominent ways. The first is in the positioning of volunteers as “world changers” making ‘a real difference in some of the world’s poorest communities’ (volunteerice.org). The second way is the imagining of volunteers as engaged in a project of self-advancement that guides subjects towards an ‘entrepreneurial’ self who seeks to ‘enterprise’ her- or himself to the end of self-realisation in the ‘business of life’ (Dean 1995; Rose 1996; Kelly 2006; 3.3). The heavy emphasis on world-changing and CV-building in the marketing, training and structure of the programme works towards shaping ICS volunteers according to these rationalities. The offer of specific ‘professional skills in research, project management and facilitations’ is ‘life changing’ in so much as it presents an opportunity to ‘kick start your career’. Thus “fulfilment” and “self-realisation” come illuminated with visions of enterprise and entrepreneurialism and aligning neoliberal market rationalities with ‘the natural private-interest-motivated conduct of free, market exchanging individuals’ (Burchell 1993, 23). As a ‘project of the self’ (Giddens 1991), therefore, global citizenship on ICS emphasises improving the lives of others only on condition that volunteers’ own lives are improved – and only then “improved” by gains made in the competitive milieu of western capitalist democracy.

In this section of the chapter the discussion of the data considers the volunteers in the context of such neoliberal rationalities of the self. I explore the ways that volunteers subvert and resist the projection of the self that is bound in with the Government’s vision of global citizenship. The two main organising themes, “difference-making” and “CV-building”, highlighted in Chapter 3 (3.3), are retained here in analysis of the data.

### 6.2.1 Difference making

The question of ‘making a difference’ or ‘development impact’ was one that very frequently elicited long and textured answers during interviews. It was clear that for all of the volunteers, the issue had become one of their most important considerations while on placement. What was significant about these considerations was the ways in which they brought a great amount of qualification to the ICS reiteration of “make a world of difference” (3.3). To the question “do you think your work on ICS “makes a difference”/has an impact on poverty?” 53 of the 79 volunteers provided negative or heavily qualified responses. Most commonly this came in the form of reining in the quite elevated claims of difference-making potential that runs through the programme’s training and promotional literature. The scale is refigured as ‘a small extent’ (Mike, Bihar); ‘not a big difference but maybe something’ (Sara, Rajasthan); it is ‘obvious you can’t make a big difference’ (Rod, Tamil Nadu) and Daryl, for example, rescales the metaphor from “world”

to ‘a tiny drop in a big ocean’ (Daryl, Karnataka).

A significant number of volunteers (17) expressed more resigned positions when it came to questions of making a difference. For example Maheen made it clear that ‘I don’t think we impacted [...] VSO spent so much money keeping me ... maybe I made some friends, but as a real life development kind of difference, no’ (Maheen, Kenya). And John turns the issue on itself by questioning the idea of volunteer projects impacting on development: ‘it’s full of misconceptions [the idea of impact], I mean obviously we can’t make a difference in ten weeks’ (John, Tamil Nadu). John here touches on a theme recurrent in the data whereby the volunteers, in their deliberation over making a difference, bring questions to the structure of the programme. These questions were most frequently centred on their perceived lack of skills to work in international development. For example Tom is circumspect about the idea of impact and his capacity to make a difference:

I got the sense that the impact I had was probably quite tenuous ... what have I achieved? I don’t speak the local language I don’t have concrete skills I’ve only just got to grips with how this place is working [...] I’d be quite humble with good reason with what I achieved. (Tom, Burkina Faso)

Similarly Enita focuses in on volunteers’ perceived lack of skills:

to be honest no ... it’s difficult when you’ve got volunteers who have such minimal skills comparatively because we’re obviously young, don’t speak the language and sometimes a lot of money being spent for us for maybe “look’s sake”. (Enita, Bihar)

By flagging up these concerns the volunteers begin to reformulate the ICS model of volunteering. Despite the subtle insistence by the Secretary of State for International Development – and all the derivative discourse that follows – that ‘life-changing impact on others’ is possible through ‘enthusiasm’ and ‘hard work’ (‘no experience necessary’) (volunteerics.org), these volunteers are not buying it. Their enthusiasm, in fact, cannot surmount their perceived lack of skills to make a significant – let alone a *world of* – impact on development. This gives the sense of a reworking of the Government’s vision by its young “difference makers”.

Less subtle perhaps are the opinions of a significant number of volunteers (19) who doubt their difference making capacities and use that to question the programme itself. Charlie argued the ‘money could be spread around more ... £7,000, oh my god!’ (Charlie, Tamil Nadu); Rob wondered whether a volunteer programme is needed: ‘I know the programmes are built around us [...] I know the British Government could easily spend a lot less and create a lot more toilets’ (Rob, Karnataka) and Tom simply proposed ‘spend[ing] the money on development not us travelling and digging’ (Tom, Tamil Nadu). Maheen, having already expressed her doubts (above), gave over a lot of time to consider

the issue of difference making and the merits of the programme:

Development? Kind of, my family always said to me “you’re going to go there, you’re going to make no difference! It’s just a waste of money sending you lot, you’ve got no skills” and then I was like, “no I’m gonna go, I’m gonna try, blah blah blah ... alright you’ll see!” And I came back and they were like “what difference did you make?” and I was like “do you know what, you were right, I’m sorry”. I really believe in VSO I think it’s such an amazing organisation but I kind of think that the skilled part, the bit where they take professionals, that’s more worthwhile in a development kind of sense [while] building confidence, that kind of stuff gives skills for us, and that’s amazing, but it’s quite a lot of money so I don’t know if it’s worth it.

She goes on to consider how the money might have been better spent:

All on paper is amazing, working and teaching in a disabled school but I know that we didn’t do that much ... we didn’t make that much difference. I was thinking to myself that they could have taken that money and they could’ve trained youths ... and they could train to become teachers and I dunno, they could train to become better citizens in the community, rather than taking me, because I’m no different to them. (Maheen, Kenya)

In this way difference making is brought soberingly into perspective. Thus Maheen and other volunteers show that they are discerning ‘consumers’ of Government discourse on global citizenship. They do not simply reiterate Government constructions, they instead hold thoughtful and reflexive reservations on the difference they are capable of making to development.

It is important also to note what we *do not* find in these volunteer reflections on making a difference. A prominent theme in current research on volunteering prudently problematises the encounter between volunteers and “the volunteered” and questions volunteers’ uptake of difference-making roles such as educator, teacher or project co-ordinator (Raymond and Hall 2007; 1.1.1). While not negating the possibility that such roles risk ‘reinforcing the dominant position of the North’ (Palacios 2010, 864), it must be conceded that, in emphasising (and elevating) volunteers’ capabilities, the programme might pose this risk but the volunteers reduce it through their refusal to fully embrace the role of difference maker. This is not to say that power is absent but it is checked, often quite resolutely, by volunteers’ reformulation and reconfiguration of themselves as difference makers. What is particularly significant too is that part of self-actualisation, guided by projects of the self, depends on self-perception as a capable, confident “difference maker”. In the vernacular of the programme these difference makers are imbued with the ‘drive to succeed’; to get projects ‘off the ground’ and to ‘impact on people’s lives’ and ‘deliver results’ (volunteerics.org). The volunteers interviewed here, and all of those who call into question the impact of ICS, are on a different trajectory as they qualify and even reject this

important aspect of global citizenship. In so doing the volunteers challenge the largely unproblematic ICS performance of development impact, presenting an alternative which is seen at its strongest in the ways that volunteers began to deconstruct the concomitant roles expected of them as – unqualified, enthusiastic – difference makers.

Further evidence to support this comes when volunteers were asked about the roles they took on while working on placement. Notably, the power-laden positions of teacher or educator frequently brought an amount of discomfort to volunteers: one commenting ‘I didn’t come here to teach English, I was gutted when I had to teach English, it doesn’t help’ (Chloe, Orissa) and another: ‘who are we to be like “we’re going to educate you in how to live”?’ (Rachel, Tamil Nadu). Evident here is not only a questioning of capability but also – and crucially – a questioning of the authority bestowed on them on placement. Where this was most pronounced was in cases of volunteers adopting the role of “development expert” such as for a group in Tamil Nadu who convey unease in their account of carrying out a PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal):<sup>11</sup>

- Rachel: that’s something that doesn’t settle well with me like completely because that’s a lot of money that’s a lot of money that the Government has kind of paid for us to ... it costs a lot of money and I’m not sure whether – like we’re doing as much as we possibly can here - I completely feel that we are doing as much as we are capable of right now I feel like the PRA ... ok so we do this thing with MYRADA<sup>12</sup> called Participatory Rural Appraisal that was so repetitive and it wasn’t accurate, as accurate as it could be, and I’m not sure how we could make that more accurate but it could have been better and like I feel like if we’d had like maybe more training then.
- Jo: I think the PRA was more for us to experience how to do PRA rather than them [MYRADA, Raleigh International] getting like really good data out of it ...

Rachel doubts the value of the work but simultaneously recognises its potential by conceding that ‘I’m not sure how [...] but it could have been better’. In doing so, and by citing a lack of training, there is a sense that Rachel feels she is not in a position to make an impact. Jo responds by rationalising (quite cynically) the seemingly volunteer-centric nature of the exercise. As the discussion progresses the volunteers focus on the idea of “expertise” working to create a line between the volunteers and their hosts, leading to a quite poignant moment of self-realisation:

- Jake: I would prefer ... I think integrating with the community is important but integrating in a way where we’re doing PRA where you’re interviewing them

<sup>11</sup> A widespread tool used by NGOs involved in international development. The Appraisals gather data on local knowledge and opinions in the planning of development projects (see Chambers 1994).

<sup>12</sup> The in-country partner of Raleigh International for this particular ICS project.

- almost I think is a weaker way of doing it...
- Luke: it creates like a line between us that ... we are watching you and studying you
- ...
- Jake: ... it just feels a little bit intrusive sometimes
- Rachel: a woman actually said to us, like said to me specifically, like I'm scared to talk to you and ... I can't remember who translated it but she said "I'm scared to talk to you we feel like you're gods" ... and I was like ... oh that's weird because we were hoping to not come across like that but of course we would because we look like we're coming in and it could be to other people like we're meddling with like a society. (Luke, Jake, Rachel, Jo, Tamil Nadu)

Each of the volunteers in this group was visibly moved by this. There is little denying that power runs through the meeting but it is not simply a case of 'neocolonial' presences resulting from 'inappropriate' roles (Raymond and Hall 2007); rather we might see this as volunteers attempting to move outside – to resist – the power relations they are inevitably caught up in while on placement. These volunteers do not take on roles unthinkingly and if ever they come close to a neocolonial presence, they are clearly uncomfortable with it and are evidently engaged in thinking through – and qualifying where possible – their potential position(s) of power.

Thinking through positions of power in this way recalls positionality and its prominence in literature on research methods.<sup>13</sup> This can inform the way we read this data. "Good practice", especially in the context of research on development, urges reflexivity; that we 'make visible our own critical positioning within the structure of power' (McDowell 1992, 413). Gill Valentine advises:

[i]f you are embarking on research in the developing world it is particularly important to be aware of your position in terms of wealth, education and so on, in relation to those you will be working with, and to recognise that your research is embedded in the context of colonialism. (2005, 114)

Positionality has in this way become a watchword for research in a postcolonial context where 'being white and born in the former colonial country may have an important impact upon the relationships we can establish during our research' (Skelton 2001, 89). This in no way forms part of the volunteers' preparation for work on placement yet the power present in the meeting between hosts and volunteers resonates through the account provided by the volunteers above. Similarly Kim considers the roles taken on by volunteers as an issue of positionality:

you have to question your own positions as volunteers coming from a specific country  
you have to start to question that ... you're here, you're in this environment but don't  
take for granted that you're coming from a very different place you know a very

<sup>13</sup> This is especially the case in the discipline of geography, given its uncomfortable history 'littered with the skeletons of murderous neglects and encounters' (Robinson 2003, 277; see also: Livingstone 1992; Driver 2001).

different positioning and that's gonna have an impact on your work ... you dig a little deeper into things, really think about what child marriage means and why do you see it as an issue that's worthy of discussion. Doesn't that also say something about what you expect the type of rights you see as rights that women and men should have you know and where is that knowledge coming from? (Kim, Bihar)

Kim's foregrounding of positionality and its relation to rights shows that she understands gender and concomitant roles as socially constructed and that, consequently, volunteers should be aware of the ways that social constructions are tied to positionality and should question how and whether they are brought into the volunteer space. So where the ICS programme makes little or no provision for volunteers' understanding of positionality – and subsequent ways of acting in the field – these volunteers show a working through of power relations that comes through the practices of volunteering (focus group above, Tamil Nadu) and also an approach of self-awareness (Kim). In these cases the power relations in which volunteers are imbricated come to the surface and begin to shape volunteers' own self-definitions to the extent they are not blindly accepting of assigned positions and roles but rather that they are cognisant of and reticent about the power mismatch that otherwise defines the spaces of volunteering.

#### 6.2.2 “Soft skills” and entrepreneurial selves?

One final way to examine the prevalence of ‘project of the self’ on the ICS programme is by attending to the range of skills volunteers acquire on placement. To ‘kick start your career’ is an overbearing necessity, a moral system that articulates truths, informs us as to how we know ourselves and the path to this fulfilment lies in acquiring the technical and professional skills and project management, such as those offered by ICS. The end objective, it seems, is the acquisition of skills conducive to “proper” conduct in the project of self-fulfilment as free, ‘market exchanging individuals’ (Burchell 1993, 271). As an important constitutive element of global citizenship – and its potential neoliberalising function – the emphasis on expected skills to be gained reveals much about the ways techniques of the self try to produce individuals. Consequently, an important part of the data that relates to this aspect of neoliberalisation comes in volunteer responses to the questions “what have you learnt on the programme?” and “how do you feel you’ve changed on/since your placement?” (question 8). Immediately apparent in the data are instances of volunteers citing learnt skills that might appear incongruous to those incorporated into the programme’s construction of desirable aptitudes and attitudes. A large number of volunteers interviewed (38) – though most acknowledged the benefits for their CVs – spoke of “softer” skills such as ‘caring’, ‘compassion’ and, in a significant

minority of cases (12), ‘solidarity’ with the poor people in their host communities: ‘I’ve become definitely more sentimental and sensitive’ (Josie, Bihar). As a process of ‘change’ or *becoming*, ‘projects of the self’ seek to locate subjects within the modern liberal democracy and its co-constitutive system of value (rather than *values* (Peters 2001)). That volunteers perceive personal change in these “soft” domains of human experience resists the place reserved for them within this system of market exchange. A particularly pointed example was provided by Tom who elaborates on the change he underwent during his ICS placement in Burkina Faso:

... I mean that’s where the real change came and I think that’s most noticeable when you interact with your friends beforehand and they notice a difference afterwards ... [it’s] intellectual reflection sort of thing numerous things there about what my obligations are as a citizen ... that’s the challenge, one of the things I’m really challenged by is ... I don’t know you’re kind of familiar with the whole Peter Singer thing the boy in the water thing?

Tom refers here to a work of moral philosophy in which Peter Singer elaborates an analogy of a child drowning in a shallow pond arguing a passer-by has a duty to help, because he or she will save a life and only - at worst - sacrifice time and some muddied shoes. Singer develops this rhetorical point to claim that the “affluent” (citizens of developed/western/liberal nations) neglect their obligations to the poor of the South through needless consumption, arguing: ‘when we spend [...] we are doing something wrong’ (2009, 19). Tom continues:

I’m very challenged by how in this country we go to buy coffee for £2 - but in Zambia that saves someone’s eyesight. How can I justify spending this share of humanity’s resources on a Starbucks coffee when it might save someone’s eyesight over there? I get very challenged about what my duties are in terms of money donations etc in terms of how I should lead an ethical career ... if I want to make a difference which is, as I mentioned, why I kind of got involved in these things in the first place, I wanted to make change [then] perhaps a better way to spend last summer would - rather than go to Burkina Faso and working in this organisation - it might have been better to work in my local supermarket and donate half of the proceeds to the organisation in Burkina Faso and then pay them to do the work that I was doing so yeah I’m quite challenged by what are my obligations how I should respond to poverty. (Tom, Burkina Faso)

Tom’s experience of volunteering on ICS moves him not towards but away from the exchange values supposedly espoused by global citizenship understood as a project of self-actualisation. This is a prominent theme in the data with a large number of other volunteers linking their experience, the skills they have learnt and their relationship with central neoliberalising themes such as consumption.

Consumerism was a topic frequently revisited as volunteers reflected on how their experience on placement provides perspectives on lifestyles at home in the UK. Freya

notes ‘it does make me realise actually how lucky I am ... it really does make me think about how much we have and we don’t need’ (Freya, Tamil Nadu); Rob: ‘[you realise] oh you don’t need that luxury’ (Rob, Delhi); Sara: ‘you realise just how valuable things are to people ... and what we have at home we don’t need’ (Sara, Rajasthan) and Tom:

you realise you don’t need all your electronics and everything you have at home to be happy we literally live [here] with barely any electricity, eight people in a room the size of my bedroom. Actually my dog has her own bedroom about the size of ours and I am happier here than I am at home. (Tom, Tamil Nadu)

All of these volunteers render their experience as one through which they ‘realise’ how much they ‘don’t need’. In previous work on volunteering very similar data has been used to argue that such processes of realisation and/or appreciation amounts to ‘an acknowledgement of poverty whilst also preserving their [volunteers] present lifestyle and Self’. Any resulting gratitude, apparently, marks the end of any ethical commitment and ‘removes the onus’ for volunteers ‘to maintain efforts to combat poverty once they have returned home and because this is a modification of the Self rather than of the Other it is a much more easily attainable resolution’ (Crossley 2012, 243). Such a reading is possible (if a little cynical) but there is also scope for allowing the data to signal important ways in which the experience of volunteering for development gives rise to dislocations between late capitalism and subjectivity in which consumption and consumer-citizens play a central role (Bauman 2001; 2005; Clarke et al. 2007).

As processes of change and becoming, these examples show how the experience of volunteers on ICS subtly pushes against the skill sets - in research, project management and ‘facilitation’ - offered on the programme and their association with competitive and aspirational individuals. In the data the converse effect seems to be the case, nowhere more markedly than for Enita:

Before I came here I was sort of may have a training contract starting next September in a corporate law firm and now I’m just completely rethinking the direction that I want ... another way that I could take my career rather than down the “sharky” route ... you realise how little you can live on here and how many things you don’t need after all ... (Enita, Bihar)

From this example, the experience of volunteering, far be it from reinforcing a neoliberal sense of self, distances one from it and would seem to provide a perspective on the pursuit of goals associated with life in a marketised society. The self in this and examples above differs from that idealised by neoliberal policy makers. Instead of rational, unquestioning and accumulation-driven subjects, the volunteers discussed in this section reveal themselves to be in fact divergent from life in a late capitalist society. They challenge their



capabilities (Maheen, principally), the programme itself (Charlie), volunteer roles (Tamil Nadu group), positionality (Kim), idealised skill sets (Josie), career orientation (Enita) and their general positions in a consumerist society (Tom). Cumulatively a picture of the self begins to emerge that, in important ways, resists the neoliberalised performance of the self that forms part of the ICS vision of global citizenship.

### 6.3 Closing comments: the critical, reflexive and subversive global citizens of ICS

There is a conspicuous absence of critical perspectives on development incorporated into the ICS programme. There is too a promotion of volunteering in ways that align it with a neoliberalised project of self-advancement. These two elements, as identified in Chapter 3, come together in the figure of the global citizen. Volunteers are encouraged to take up this subject position through their participation in the programme. At hand, however, is evidence that volunteers perceive development and themselves in ways that push against the Government's performance of global citizenship.

The volunteers show understandings of development that are both historicised and politicised. Their perspectives on development enter polarised debates on colonialism and neo-colonialism in ways that evidence critical and – to different extents – radical positions. Britain's historical and contemporary role in development is thus brought into focus in ways that the Government and DfID would not entertain. The silences in the DfID imaginary of development are therefore populated by the volunteers in an undertaking not unlike that of postcolonial approaches to development. The volunteers also show a quite nuanced sense of positionality and a readiness to develop softer skills that are not ordinarily associated with self-advancement. They refuse the unqualified position of “difference maker”, call into question the efficacy of the programme and, perhaps most tellingly, find their experience on placement uproots previously normalised assumptions of ‘how to be’ in contemporary consumerist society. The data would indicate, then, that the global citizens of ICS are not necessarily the “soft” incarnations the programme supposes. Instead, global citizenship becomes infused with critical elements throughout the programme. Whether this is subtle or forceful matters little – a question of magnitude not quality. Rather what matters is the presence of a reclaimed space for critical, resistant and non-neoliberalised modes of global citizenship on the ICS programme.

The obvious rejoinder to this is that all of these disruptions and subversions are still ultimately co-opted because the volunteers, critical or not, will still provide community work in the UK and they will still return more employable to move into the highly competitive and individualised job market. This is plausible, but to hypothesise that the

testaments of these volunteers in some way represent a ventriloquisation of neoliberalism would be cynical in the extreme. There is, though, a serious issue here and there is no avoiding researcher positionality in the answer. If an ICS volunteer tells me (as many have done) “I don’t want to be part of Big Society”, do I then read this as genuine or co-opted resistance? In other words do I believe in an available standpoint for the volunteer to assert their own reflexivity? Clearly there is a fine line here but I would contest that locating resistance wins out. This chapter’s final task, then, is to convince of the credibility of this reading. To this end I conclude with volunteers’ responses to a simple question that elicited unambiguous (and sometimes amusing) responses: “are you part of the Big Society?”. Answers were pithy and unequivocal. The word cloud below (fig 6.2) indicates the tone of volunteers’ responses. Though it may not at first appear so, there is an important point here: the overwhelming majority of volunteers (63 out of 79) expressed in strong terms that they did not want to be associated with one or a combination of i) the Big Society; ii) The Conservative Party (often David Cameron in particular) or, in some cases iii) global citizenship. Before diving into what is immediately rich data, important to note is that the question was always the final one, most often coming after eating dinner or drinking *chai* with the volunteers. Volunteers were at this point relaxed and some kind of rapport had grown and, as a closing question, it was always a moment where volunteers could set aside the seriousness of talking about development and “let loose” quite freely on this aspect of domestic Government policy. In fact some made light-hearted references to the dictaphone



fig 6.2

‘recording’ and ‘transcription’ – one volunteer prefigured her response with ‘off the record, obviously’.<sup>14</sup> This suggests the interviewees were at ease and the responses made were unguarded vis-à-vis the Big Society and the Government’s version of global citizenship.

In the responses, the Government and the Prime Minister were the target of criticism as some volunteers associated Big Society with ‘cuts’ (‘cutbacks’, ‘spending cuts’, ‘austerity’) and made reference to ‘policy’, ‘votes’ and ‘neoliberal[ism]’. Crucially, within this, attention was drawn to the Big Society and citizenship (both ‘active’ and ‘global’) as ‘phrases’, ‘names’, ‘taglines’ and ‘buzzwords’, that are variously labelled with unflattering adjectives that range from mildly critical (‘corny’, ‘cheesy’, ‘awful’, ‘myth’ ‘annoying’, ‘patronising’) to a strongly dismissive – and surprisingly recurrent – ‘bollocks’. This focus on Big Society and citizenship as language would indicate that the volunteers recognise them as makers of a discursive space – and their criticism evidences a reluctance to inhabit it. Perhaps, then, we might take this as further evidence that the volunteers’ responses presented in this chapter should be read as if they come from “without” the “within” (neoliberalising) space of the ICS programme.

A brief survey of responses fleshes out this idea. Moving from north to south through India: in Bihar Mark is unequivocal: ‘I would not volunteer if it

meant that Cameron got another vote’ and Michael, quite simply: ‘I don’t want to be part of this Big Society’; Kate laughs and asks ‘can you see me as one of Cameron’s Big Society kind of comrades?’ and adds: ‘No! we’re not in this together!’. In Rajasthan Amy is impassioned: ‘do you think he [Cameron] has any understanding of how we live? I feel like

Word	Count	Similar Words
Big Society	32	big society
David Cameron	22	David Cameron, Cameron, Dave
Volunteering	13	volunteer, volunteering, volunteers
Conservatives	11	Conservative Party, Conservatives, Tory, Tories
Active citizen	9	Active citizen
Citizen	9	citizen, citizens
Global citizen	9	Global citizen
Government	8	government
Cuts	7	cuts, cutbacks, spending cuts
Vote	7	vote, votes, voting
Bollocks	6	bollocks
Politicians	6	politician, politicians
Politics	5	political, politics
Austerity	4	austerity
Funding	4	funding
Name	4	name
Phrase	4	phrase
Pretending	4	pretend, pretending
Connexions	3	connexions
Fuck	3	fuck, fucking, fucks
Neoliberal	3	neoliberal
Shit	3	shit, crock of shit
Annoying	2	annoying, annoys
Awful	2	awful
Buzzword	2	buzzword, buzzwords
Cynical	2	cynical, cynicism
Dictaphone	2	dictaphone
Policies	2	policies, policy
Recording	2	recording
Transcribe	2	transcribe, transcribed
Anger	1	angers
Blagging	1	blagging
Cheesy	1	cheesy
Compassionate conservatism	1	compassionate conservatism
Comrades	1	comrades
Corny	1	corny
Crap	1	crap
Delusional	1	delusional
Egalitarian	1	egalitarian
Gag reflex	1	gag reflex
Myth	1	myth
Off the record	1	off the record
Oxymoron	1	oxymoron
Patronising	1	patronising
Rubbish	1	rubbish
Superhero	1	superhero
tag line	1	tag line
waxwork	1	waxwork

table 6.2

<sup>14</sup> In all this happened only five times. On each occasion such comments came across as figures of speech that were both phatic and jocular. None of the volunteers, when asked, requested I not use their responses to this question. Nonetheless, for this short section only I have anonymised the data.

the Big Society is, for want of a better phrase, a bit of a crock of shit'. Out in the Eastern state of Orissa the question elicits a witty response and laughter:

... gag reflex.... [everyone laughs]... not as part of Cameron's Big Society, definitely not, it's bollocks essentially it's just a nice way to cut spending in the public sector and in the third sector while pretending that you're really humanitarian "compassionate conservatism" the world's biggest oxymoron. (John, Orissa)

Further south in Karnataka Flo says her she wants her work to 'have nothing to do with Cameron'; Katy 'I don't care what Cameron thinks' and Lucy: 'I don't like him and his Big Society, sorry'. In the neighbouring state Tamil Nadu Matt simply exclaims 'NO!' to the question and Jade asserts: 'I don't want to associate myself with the Big Society just in case it does have a positive influence towards David Cameron', for Henry Big Society is 'one of those annoying buzzwords that they throw out' and Tim quips "global citizen" 'sounds like some sort of superhero'. On the project furthest south in Kannagre, Tamil Nadu, Hayley is plainly spoken in her criticism of Big Society:

It's all bollocks, it's the Government having no idea whatsoever, them saying "oh you've got to be an active citizen and you need to do this and that but I'm gonna take this away from you or cut your funding" ... like for example youth work Connexions<sup>15</sup> the best thing that's probably ever happened in terms of a career service for young people they've just got rid of it, scrapped it and they've put nothing in place for it and they take this away from people like an information and source and then they go but actually I think you all need to provide something for your community and be an active citizen, just young people aren't gonna buy into that and I don't get where they get the idea from that they will. (Hayley, Tamil Nadu)

A brief survey, but one that resolves the bind of how to frame the discussion of the data: it would take a large amount of pessimism to read these volunteers' words as evidence of co-opted resistance. These are nuanced and impassioned arguments and should be allowed to remain so.

What follows is an ethical imperative to recognise that these volunteers take on global citizenship in alternative ways to that imagined by the Government through the ICS programme. If we imagine the global citizens projected by the programme as 'power's social script' (Gregson and Rose 2000) then we should read the volunteers' performances in this chapter as subversive of that script. This is evident in the volunteers' understandings of development and poverty in which both colonialism and neocolonialism are important frames. It is evident too in the subtle refashioning of the project of the self and how this relates to neoliberalised ideals of subjectivity. Volunteers from this point exercise keen critical judgement on the reasons for poverty and inequality and also resist the entrepreneurialism so idealised by policy makers. The result is a mode of global citizenship

<sup>15</sup> Connexions was a Government-funded service that offered guidance and support for young people. The service was withdrawn as part of the public spending cuts implemented after the 2010 general election by the coalition Government.

that shows an awareness of injustices past and present and one that resists entry into the “life business” of self-enterprise. This is resistance. Resistance as discursive: not radical nor (yet) revolutionary, but accumulative, micro-level resistance to an expression of power. These volunteers are simultaneously within and without the formations of neoliberalism, they “work” its spaces to show themselves to be autonomous, creative and subversive subjects - and the “softness” of ICS global citizenship gradually hardens. Slowly slowly, iteration by iteration, the volunteers generate, validate and begin to normalise alternative views on global citizenship through volunteering thereby situating them in the interstices of neoliberalism: “within” yet somehow pushing against. These are the global citizens who resist neoliberalism and in doing so point towards a better future.

If there were no escape, no excess or remainder, no fade-out to infinity, the universe would be without potential, pure entropy, death. Actually existing, structured things live in and through what escapes them. Their autonomy is the autonomy of affect - Massumi 2002.

It is not that life has been totally integrated into techniques that govern and administer it; it constantly escapes them - Foucault 1978.

This chapter presents an account of the affective experience of volunteering on the ICS programme. Through affective aspects of the data the case is made that an important part of volunteering plays out on the pre-cognitive level of the body. From here there are two objectives. The first is to apply the theoretical positions set out in Chapter 5 whereby affect is understood as an “excess” that does not automatically defer to expressions of power but, in important ways, constantly escapes attempts to govern it. The second objective is to consider seriously the ways in which research might present such data, especially as we recognise its not uncomplicated relationship with representation in language. As a consequence towards the end of the chapter I employ writing techniques that take leave of the norms we know as “good practice” in the social sciences. The resulting account of global citizenship brings these two objectives together to evoke an affected and affecting practice that transcends the neoliberalising elements of the ICS programme and, importantly, offers an ‘anti-capitalocentric’ reading of volunteering that unfolds in a world full of potential.

The discussion begins with a retelling of an interview lunch with an ICS volunteer leader, Nitin. I draw close focus on events at the interview to begin working towards the chapter’s two objectives. The second part of the chapter discusses more data from the field to evidence an emergent affective mode of global citizenship that is irreducibly co-constitutive in nature and therefore resistant to and even transcendent of a neoliberal ordering of the world. The third and final section of the chapter explores this idea by using an experimental technique of performative writing that attempts to evoke this affective world whose intensity breathes life into global citizenship and whose autonomy brings hope of a better future.

### 7.1 An interview with Nitin, July 2012

His eyes light up and his attention diverts from his plate to a rural village 360 km away: “My high point?” he repeats the question and pauses. I’m interviewing Nitin about his experiences as an ICS programme leader, he’s animated and I sense this is going to be interesting. He looks up and immediately, through an intense though “scattered” (Nitin’s word) narrative, we are transported to rural Rajasthan:

the last week, we had meetings to present surveys, they were nervous, people were not coming, they had gone to these houses like four, five times, everyone was nervous. Suddenly when the crowd starts building like, you know, you, you *feed off that energy*, I wrote an account of this, this conversation’s really *scattered* I feel like ...

It’s not yet clear why this story is significant but the tension of the building crowd and the contagious energy has me gripped. We are in a restaurant in South Delhi, Nitin works for an NGO that organises ICS volunteer projects in partnership with VSO India. He is speaking about the last day of a three-month project where he and the volunteers collected information on landlords underpaying workers the amount stipulated by Indian law:<sup>1</sup>

... and there was this one meeting where I was feeling ill, I’d just got news of a friend’s daughter not feeling too well and just like *feeling very, er, under*. So I went to this meeting and I knew like that everyone was going to be there and I knew that everyone was going to be *nervous*. I went there and *the energy was depressing* because these guys were scared, they were yelling at each other and all I did was just sat because I thought “*I don’t have the energy to do this today*” and these guys came to me called me and I sort of slid behind and I just sort of sat there like sort of thinking that this is sort of happening ...

Nitin is a skilled raconteur and in many ways the perfect interviewee: intelligent, expressive and animated. He continues:

... so then I was like ok, “you fight ... don’t worry it’ll happen” so then you sort of go around with them and I went to the ... I told them like “ok, come on” ...

I listen only for what’s next, waiting for the story to move on, thinking that Nitin’s words at times appear incoherent “fluff” to be cut out of the transcription. But as he speaks these moments of incoherence somehow produce an effect: chaotic reformulations and digressions build tension and reflect the chaos and tension of the meeting. Nitin’s language *performs*, ‘evokes what it names’ (Phelan 1998, 143). The narrative builds:

... and then *the crowd started building* and one by one when they started putting their survey results and because some of these survey results exposed the Government, the local authorities, suddenly you can see *the energy* and at the end of the day, the meeting was a

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<sup>1</sup> The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005).

success these villagers were like “you are a god send for us you people, you five kids”, they were like young people ...

Without pause Nitin explains the significance:

... so in India there is an Act where everyone’s supposed to get minimum 100 days of work and get paid for it so in Rajasthan the minimum wages for that is 119 now sometimes the work doesn’t get done, sometimes there are penalties if you don’t turn up for work, if you leave now the money’s cut for that – but even if money’s cut it should not be less than rupees 60. And there are people in the village who do not know how to read and write they were getting like rupees 30, 50 et cetera et cetera and they were just told by these guys that this is the amount of the money you get ...

His face now animated, it is clear that the climax is imminent:

... this was a masterstroke by the way, this is what I’m most proud of ... the women got together before the meeting, so to be ready for the meeting, they were up in arms, “so you’ve basically been cheating us!” - the case went to the Chief Minister ...

He shakes his head disbelievingly and at this point I’m not sure Nitin is even talking to me.

He then reflects quite vacantly, as if he doesn’t quite know how to relate the story:

amazing things happen, *people were crying* ...

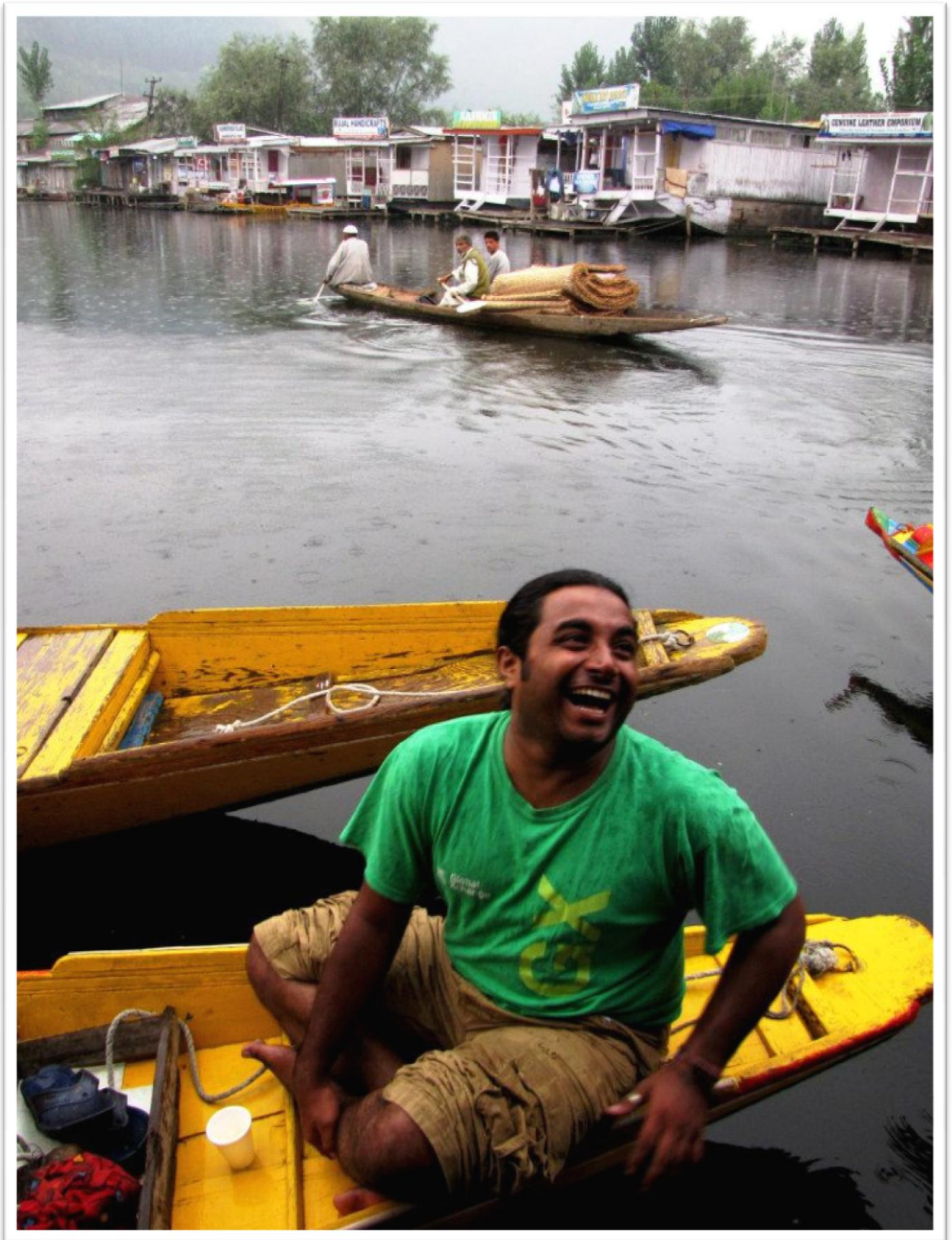
And then he’s back, addressing me directly and with affecting cadence, the dénouement:

*Do you know how success feels?* And you learn when you reflect on that I had to write it down because *I was so excited* ... it captures the excitement, *I’ve got goose bumps just talking about it.* (Nitin, Rajasthan)

Wow. I have goose bumps too, by this point I am too on that field affected by the energies of the meeting and the energies of Nitin’s narrative.

As we finished lunch my well planned questions on neoliberalism remained unasked. From the moment I asked “can you tell me about your role in ICS?” there came forth this narrative animated by the ‘emotional repertoires’ of volunteering (Smith et al., 2010) and the affective intensities of development work (4.5.3.1). Nitin draws you in. He’s larger-than-life with intense eyes, a booming voice and an infectious laugh. Over the next few months I would learn quickly that when he’s moody he puts you on edge; when he’s high he pulls you up with him. Though I think I knew this already; his presence breathes life into his words and I can imagine the intensities he describes. As I did during the discussion of imagery in Chapter 4 (4.5.2), ‘give yourself up’ to the ‘subtle beyond’ (Barthes 2000, 59) of his photo (below, fig 7.1) and perhaps something of his non-verbal fluency might come through. The life of the photograph reflects the life that animates the interview and the life that - I imagine - contributed to the affects that swirl around that





A typically lively Nitin on placement in Rajasthan

fig 7.1

field in Rajasthan. Nitin's presence is affective and his presence in the interview is therefore only partly "wordy" and much like Liz Bondi and others have begun to explore I find myself part of an affective "research couple" as communication passes between us on non-verbal and non-cognitive channels. There's an 'affectively freighted' "excess" to Nitin's words (Bondi 2014, 48; see also Rizq 2008) that transports me to that field and - through the tensions of the building crowd and its nervous emissions - I am set on edge for the final relief: the moment where nerves, yelling and crying emerge and carry the moment along to a destination of greater social justice. The workers get their money and - via Nitin - I can feel their pleasure and their gratitude, I can feel the red faces of the landlords, their shame or anger - or a mix of the two that we feel but doesn't exist in English - and I sense the shared delight, pride and hope that runs through both the volunteers and the host community. Hopefully, one can sense, in the presentation of the data, that I too am affected by Nitin's account. In turn, in an attempt to explore Bondi's suggestion that we attempt to 'sustain rather than obliterate' (2014) embodied aspects of the research encounter, one can feel too when reading the narrative set in a South Delhi restaurant - the account of the account - these affects are re-evoked, so that they reverberate not only through the bodies at the meeting in Rajasthan but also through mine and that of the text.

As part of this research project into the neoliberalism, volunteering and global citizenship this interview is a turning point. The neoliberalised element of the ICS programme seems irrelevant amid the nervousness and passions of the meeting in Rajasthan. We take coffee and Nitin talks about politics, he is very well informed and speaks passionately about land rights for rural people.<sup>2</sup> He is also well aware of the conditions that make his work possible. He is university educated, anglophone and working for a grassroots NGO that, like the vast majority of other NGOs, receives corporate and state funding. A power-centric (and cynical) framing of his data might focus on this to tell a story of Nitin's privilege and his work compromised by his organisation's ties (however loose or strong they may be) to TNCs and the Indian and British Governments. However Nitin's account is so energetic, so emotional and so affective that it would take quite an effort to order it into a narrative of neoliberalised forms of volunteering and global citizenship. At this, one of the first interviews I conducted in India, it is immediately clear that the data is leading in different directions.

Nitin's final comment provides a neat synthesis of the way that this type of data shapes discussion of global citizenship and ICS. He closes with "I've got goose bumps just

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<sup>2</sup> For more on Nitin and his organisation's work on land rights see Griffiths (2014).

talking about it”, suggesting that the moment clearly lives on within him. That I too experienced something of this physiological reaction would also evidence the presence of lingering affects. In the first place the focus is on the space of volunteering where bodies are caught in affective moments; we are witness to this in the field in Rajasthan. The second element of this exchange comes through affects that may resonate beyond the immediate space of volunteering; we are witness to this in the affects that pass through the interview. To reflect this I attempt a lively presentation of the data in an effort to sustain this affective resonance through a performative mode of writing. The result is an account of the affective experience of volunteering on the ICS programme that is re-presented affectively in both interview and written documentation such as this thesis. While at this point they might seem convoluted, these affective exchanges between the field and the practices of research (data collection and presentation) form an important contextual backdrop to the following discussion. Working towards the objectives set out at the beginning of this chapter, and attempting to harness the inter-subjective energies of ethnography (Smith 2001; 5.3) exemplified in the interview with Nitin, the account of affective experience on the ICS programme here strongly resists a power-centric perspective.

## **7.2 The affective life of ICS and global citizenship**

As we learn from the discussion in Chapter 4 of the media’s portrayal of development over the last thirty years, our embodied knowledge of poverty is delimited to intense but ultimately politically indifferent corporeal relations with poor “distant strangers” (4.2.1). Following through this line of thought, the ICS programme sends a cohort of volunteers to the South who are affectively ‘primed’ to experience poverty and inequality in an empathetic, emotional and affective way that remains within the confines of the media’s and Government’s own emotional repertoires. As we have seen, these repertoires validate and foreclose certain embodied responses such that the public is brought into affective alignment with the continued neoliberal ordering of relations between the rich North and the poor South. Existing research on international volunteering has provided some support that the embodied experience of Western volunteers in the South plays out according to these circumscriptions and that a ‘neoliberal sleight of hand’ somehow pulls the strings (Conran 2011; Crossley 2012a; 2012b; Mostafanezhad 2012; 2013a; Sin 2010; 1.1.1). The data presented here tells a different story. The world of volunteering on ICS projects is a richly affective one whose multiplicity, I argue, attests to life’s capacity to ‘constantly

escape'. The result is an evidence-based vision of global citizenship that does not defer to that constructed by the British Government.

One prominent aspect of life on placement for the volunteers I interviewed was their interaction with host communities. The importance of this is reflected in the fact that a large majority of volunteers (41 of 64) responded to question 12 on memorable moments with stories of the connections they had made with their hosts (volunteers were asked to talk about both positive and negative moments; see 2.6). For instance, Josie recalls a memorable moment during a visit to a school in Patna, Bihar:

it was great they were smiling and laughing and they were holding my hand and telling me to come to them and chatting at me in Hindi and I didn't have a clue what they were saying by the way they looked they were saying nice things ... it was a really really good atmosphere and then we did the learning games and they were listening with wide eyes, "shocked" face "interested" face and they did look very interested (Josie, Bihar);

Becky and John recount:

Becky: I've got really attached to a family that are a little bit further out and they kind of dragged me into the house and I didn't have anyone English and Hindi speaking with me but the language barrier isn't such a big deal as I thought it might be ... they just laugh ... we just laugh and it's, it's something

John: you can tell by their body language more how they feel about you rather than what you're saying. (Becky and John, Tamil Nadu)

And finally, Sara in Rajasthan:

We we're just keeping them all entertained just basically with a camera taking photos of them and chatting with them and they were all laughing and pulling stupid faces ... I dunno ... it's just kind of like an acceptance kind of feeling. (Sara, Rajasthan)

There are many more examples of similar stories in the dataset but these three allow us to draw out some important aspects of volunteering that make it an intensely affective experience. Common to each of these short excerpts is a mode of interaction that does not depend on language but instead on the distinctly affective sites of the body's gestures (Izard et al. 2002) and the face's expressions (Bänninger-Huber 1992; Dimberg et al. 2000; McNeill 2000; 4.3.1). The children in Patna smile and laugh with 'wide eyes' and Josie is moved by 'a really really good atmosphere'; Becky and John evoke connections with other people in a similar way where understandings emerge through a passing of laughter between bodies and Sara's 'acceptance' is something she comes to feel via the communicative capacities of the face. The cumulative account is one of sensorial experience that thus implies that there is a lot happening for these volunteers on a corporeal level.

What exactly is going on at the level of the body in these examples is difficult to tell. But the evidence does certainly suggest that for these volunteers and the others who provided similar responses, there is a connection made with their “poor” hosts that rises out of commonalities between hosts and volunteers. Perhaps this is most evocatively expressed as Becky (above) continues with a description of an unplanned lesson at a village school:

I was down at the school with Frodo [Harry, another volunteer] a couple of days ago and it was just like yelling English words and they were yelling them back and they were all so happy for us to be there and I felt like I don’t know we *broke down a barrier* because when we first came they were all so uncomfortable and it was like oh my god! *It’s us and them and now it’s very much we are them kind of thing* like we’ve blended in well they don’t have any problems in grabbing your hand and dragging you down the street. (Becky, Tamil Nadu)

Yelling and happiness push along this scene and emerge in a relief of discomfort that was obviously significant: ‘like oh my god!’. This moment of relief comes in the dissolution of the barriers that maintain difference that Becky quite expressively articulates as: ‘now it’s very much we are them kind of thing’. Like for Josie and Sara above, therefore, communal feelings of acceptance and respect rise out of inter-subjective exchanges that are transmitted via the face, gesture and contagious laughter. And through these inter-subjectivities everything that distinguishes “poor” from “rich” seems momentarily irrelevant as the lines between ‘us’ and ‘them’ blur through the co-constitutive nature of affect. In short: these volunteers’ embodied connections on placement begin to dissolve the subject positions allocated by expressions of power and, just maybe, evidence a nascent version of a global citizenship as emergent through autonomous, affecting bodies.

Weight is added to this notion where volunteers began to focus on the experience of poverty in discussion of “touching” or “emotional” elements of life on placement. This came both in response to question 12 on high and low points (see 2.4.1) but also quite regularly in unstructured parts of interviews and focus groups. Of the 64 volunteers on placement in India who

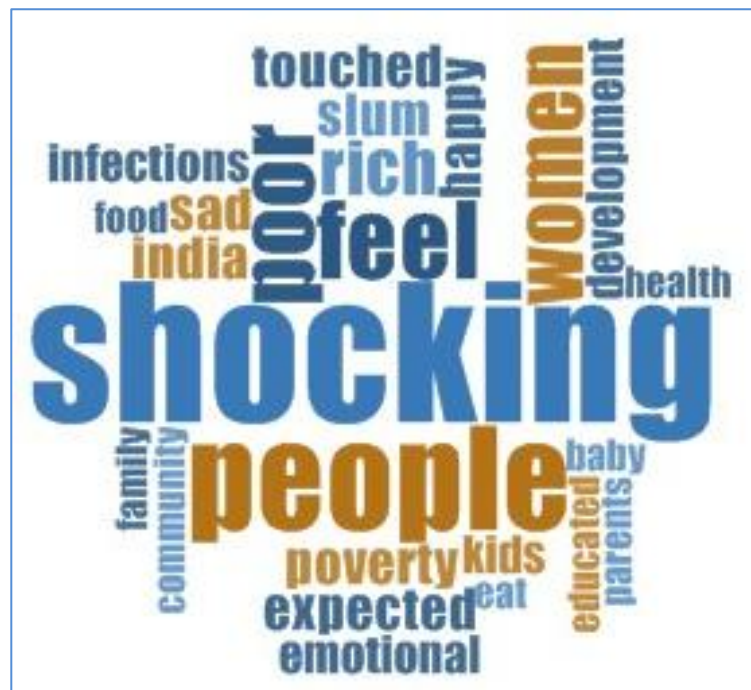


fig 7.2

A tag cloud showing word frequency in volunteers’ perceptions of poverty while on placement



spoke of moments that were particularly intense or emotional, only three did not provide an answer somehow focussing on an aspect of experiencing poverty (instead each of these three focussed their responses on landscapes). Typical reactions were ‘it’s difficult to see, especially when it’s kids without clothes ...’ (Charlie, Tamil Nadu); ‘it gets you down when you see it every day, I hope I don’t get used to it’ (Rob, New Delhi) and ‘I see kids going through rubbish all the time, it’s awful to see’ (John, Orissa). The tag cloud, above (fig 7.2) (from the table, right) provides a useful visualisation of this aspect of the data. The recurring theme was one of shock, but this was also tied in with instances of ‘sadness’ (and happiness), ‘horror’ and volunteers using what we might term “body-centric” conceptualisations whereby they ‘feel’ poverty and are ‘touched’ or ‘moved’ by it. Also evident is the prominence of people (or other bodies) in this felt environment; this goes the full spectrum from the quite impersonal ‘community’ to the ‘kids’ and ‘babies’ whose capacities as affective figures are well recognised (Manzo 2008; 4.5.1).

At first sight this seems to be a real world experience of development that follows perceptions gained from the media spectacle in Chapter 4 (4.2.1). Where this takes a turn is in the emphasis volunteers place on sensing firsthand and in the contrast this brought to their pre-departure expectations. For instance Lizzie in Orissa emphasises seeing: ‘it’s horrific to see, it’s ... it’s awful’ and James in the same focus group follows: ‘yeah, up close it really comes home’. In Lizzie’s pause and reformulation there seems to be something lost in articulation and for James there is a sense that proximity ingrains something within, and for both poverty remains ‘it’, as it did for much of the conversation almost as if poverty was threaded through each exchange without need of repeat. The same is true for Luke in Tamil Nadu: ‘when you see it, when you see it firsthand ... you ... you wouldn’t experience it [at home] on the TV’ and for Enita in Bihar:

what kind of shocked me was that we’d be seeing some of the poorest villages in India and the kids were just like any other kids they were running around throwing sticks at each other playing with toys and stuff some of them were malnourished or - you know - really unhealthy but they were still ... that’s what shocked me cos that’s not the image we’re given - they’re treated as “others” sometimes *a kind of us and them thing*. (Enita, Bihar)

Word	Count	Similar Words
shocking	44	shock, shocked, shocking
people	32	people
feel	24	feel, feeling
poor	22	poor
women	20	women, women’s
rich	16	Rich
happy	12	happy
India	12	India
poverty	12	poverty
sad	12	sad
expected	12	expect, expected, expecting
slum	12	slum, slums
touched	12	touched, touches, touching
development	10	developed, development
emotional	10	emotion, emotional
infections	10	infection, infections
kids	10	kids
baby	8	baby
community	8	communities, community
eat	8	eat
educated	8	educated, education
family	8	families, family
food	8	food
health	8	health
parents	8	parents

table 7.1

Again there is this importance placed on sight and proximity and Luke and Enita touch on a recurrent theme that has obvious relevance to the wider interests here: they both draw comparison between this sensory experience and that of the mediated intimacy that (partly) formed their perceptions of poverty pre-departure. Enita especially reinforces the idea of a breaking down of dichotomies (the media's 'us and them thing') that in turn evidences a different embodied experience ('shock') of poverty ('malnourish[ment]') for which her body may (or may not) have been primed. This is poignantly captured by Polly, a volunteer in Bihar, one of India's poorest states: 'sometimes you see it on TV and you're like "oh that's awful" [but here] it makes you feel totally uncomfortable and you don't know what to do'. This immediacy of poverty, Polly continues, 'shows that there's *another dimension* to it and it's not quite so easy'. Though Polly leaves this 'other dimension' undefined, it is clear to see an evolution in her perception of poverty as she goes from stasis, 'this is awful', to a more corporeal uncertainty of 'feeling totally uncomfortable'. Her body is moved and this, crucially, plays out in a different 'dimension' to the preconceptions she had gained from television before departure. Towards a potentially nascent global citizenship, then, it seems this is in formation outside of the affective realm of the mass media and Government imaginaries of development. Instead it begins to emerge through the intensities of shock and discomfort that, it appears, bring a profoundly affective dimension to volunteers' experience of poverty.

The intensities of shock and discomfort come to the fore amongst volunteers working in suburban slum communities. This was especially true for a group of volunteers working in Jagdamba Camp, South Delhi. Rob here describes his first visit to the community:

I left and was speechless ... it all just ... I mean I've been walking down some of the streets here and thinking "that looks bad", like quite close to the other houses but the slum ... you're walking through and you can't go two-a-breadth you have to go one at a time and just looking in at some of the houses you've got like 5-6 children on a double bed and that's all there is, the house is just a bed ... it's like a real shock I think ... I'm so happy that I was able to see that and actually see it with my own eyes because ... when I was going through it I was like this is such a shock but at the same time I'm probably not gonna see anything like this and I know it sounds a bit profound but I probably won't see something that shocking for the rest of my life. (Rob, New Delhi)

Rob's account is centred on his sensing body as it moves through an intimate space in proximity to other bodies, and the affecting sight of 5-6 children sharing a bed. He senses shock rising in him and emphasises its residual presence that is so strong that, he says, will remain 'for the rest of my life'. Significantly, this left him 'speechless', giving the idea of an affective presence on the edge of cognition 'that talk cannot grasp' (Thrift 2007, 176). As

he describes it here, therefore Rob's experience is intensely visceral; it is his bodily presence - 'my own eyes' - that reacts to the affective life of the community and it leaves him in a state of discomfort that remains with him. During the same interview Will adds:

like you see it on the TV, like Comic Relief kind of thing, but it doesn't compare you don't experience how busy it is the smells the noises everyone's just running around. (Will, New Delhi)

Will's short account is similarly dependent on his sensing - the 'smells and noises' - of other - 'busy', 'running' - bodies and, he makes clear, this is so strongly felt that the mediated affects of Comic Relief pale against his own affective experience of poverty. This is reflected too in a separate interview with a volunteer on the same project, Nadeem:

Have you ever been to a slum before? Seeing it on TV, seeing it in real life, driving past it and actually going into it are totally different things. I don't know how to describe it ... like it really *hits* you like people living in those kind of conditions - you couldn't learn this from the UK - seeing something on TV, it doesn't make it real that could just be like an effect if you see that that's how people live in real life it's more powerful ... You like walk through and it smells ok and then you walk a bit further and it stinks ... it literally stinks ... and then you walk a bit further and it smells ok again people are washing their clothes and cutlery right next to this filthy drain that was a bit ... dunno ... I don't know how they live there ... dunno ... it was shocking ... I was shocked ... they eat fine but they've got disease [t]here. (Nadeem, New Delhi)

Like Rob's and Will's accounts, Nadeem's experience emerges through a mix of powerful sensory stimuli as both vision and smell make deep impressions on Nadeem. As he walks the sights and smells 'hit' him 'powerful[ly]' and as he speaks to me in the interview there is a definite sense of discomfort in the pauses, the repeat of 'shocking/shocked' and the phatic yet loaded 'dunno'. This is compounded where Nadeem concedes 'I don't know how to describe it' which, like Rob's speechlessness, implies that words fall short against the intensities of his experience. And once again, this intensity supersedes whatever affective 'priming' was left: 'seeing something on TV, it doesn't make it real ... in real life it's more powerful'. The 'power', it would appear, rests on the presence of the sensing body and the resulting embodied knowledge of poverty accumulates, it is not too difficult to imagine, autonomously of that inscribed within "soft" iterations of global citizenship.

Beginning to emerge here is a picture of ICS volunteers who experience their placement corporeally. The practices they describe cannot be understood without attempting to imagine the feelings, emotions and affects that result in connections with other people and impressions of poverty and, one would think, what it means to live on the "wrong" side of development. So far this hints at a disruption of the ordering of the world between rich and poor and an embodied knowledge of poverty that evidently supplants



volunteers' pre-departure preconceptions. There are important implications here for the formation of global citizenship on the ICS programme: the affective experience on placement challenges the power expressed in the construction of concepts central to the Government's idea of global citizenship. "Poverty", "volunteer", "host", "development" and so forth take on a life and escape attempts at control, suggesting that new and autonomous forms of global citizenship are in formation. To evidence this further I want to return to Rob's account above in which he conveys the corporeal experience of poverty and implies that it will stay with him 'for the rest of my life'. This draws focus on the temporality of affect and the to-now dichotomous arrangement of pre-cognitive and cognitive thought processes. A final aspect of volunteers' reflections on emotional moments helps elaborate on Rob's conviction that affects remain and in doing so adds depth to the developing image of a nascent form of affective global citizenship on the ICS programme.

During volunteers' recollection of emotional highs and lows on the programme there was a recurrent connection made between affective bonds with people in the community, embodied responses to poverty and quite measured reflection on material differences between rich and poor. Volunteers would very often conclude anecdotes replete with emotion and affect with reflective codas that drew into contrast the haves and have-nots of the rich North and the poor South. The effect of this during interviews and general conversation was to make volunteers' now-cognisant knowledge of inequality carry through the energy and intensity of the affective aspects of their work on the programme. Admittedly, this appears tenuous at first but the interview data helps lend credibility. For instance, in an interview with Roz in Tamil Nadu she talks of her experience on placement: 'I had absolutely no conception that other people might live in really difficult circumstances and it genuinely really affected me'. She then breaks off:

I feel a responsibility to other humans who have a much more difficult life than I've had, I've definitely had all the breaks I haven't had to struggle for anything in my life and I just have a lot of empathy for people who have a tough life. (Roz, Tamil Nadu)

Roz presents her understanding of poverty as affecting and in the interview is visibly moved and this lingering affect pushes through a quite poignant reflection on her own privilege. Another example comes from Freya in Tamil Nadu who spoke of how she was

so attached to the people here ... and if you think about not seeing them ever again in however many months it's quite erm ... quite ... a horrible thought really I don't know I think the idea of being at home and then thinking back to the village it seems quite isolating ...

Freya's clearly affectively involved in her relationships with the host community and undoubtedly sad at the prospect of losing the attachments she has made. After this she, apparently now in her affected state thinking about home, reflects:

it does make me realise actually just how lucky I am like especially back home I didn't think I was gonna feel like that but actually it really does make me think how much we have. (Freya, Tamil Nadu)

Both of these short moments of introspection are carried along by the affects that linger after recollections of moments of emotional or affective intensity on placement. Without being there, without seeing Roz and Freya working in the field and feeling the weight of their words firsthand, of course these transcriptions lose something. One method might be therefore to attempt to make transcripts 'come off the page' a little more and 'sustain' the intensity we feel during the research process (Bondi 2014). Harry (his name is John but everyone calls him Harry), for instance, is a volunteer in Tamil Nadu; he's chiselled, cheeky and warm. He laughs readily and he's one of those people who's immediately at ease with new people. He buzzes around the room we all sleep in making porridge and coffee and then enthusiastically reads the news on my phone, even though it's three weeks old. He offers to take me on a tour of the village and as we walk children call constantly: 'Mr Harry, Harry, frisbee, ball, cricket'; they too perceive his warmth. Talking later that day he talks of how he feels an 'attachment' to the people of his host community, to illustrate he recalls:

... the first meeting we had at the school, all the little girls just came and sat around me, I couldn't understand what was going on, I was trying to look attentive but all the girls just kept talking to me in English asking like every member of my family and constantly "what is your name? What is your name?", so I'd have to tell them my name like ten times and then they'd tell me their names and all the names of the family and they want to know every name of my family members and then they asked me about brushing teeth ... since then they've just been appearing and taking my hand and coming with me wherever I'm going it's just the kids have been so welcoming ...

As he finishes this anecdote he is visibly in a different place, moved along by the moment as it replays through his body. He then adds, seemingly without thinking, without expectation of response, 'we have so much opportunity' and expands:

... [we] need to get a perspective on life, you know kids that get angry because they haven't got the latest game sort of thing it's like go live here have nothing for a while and play with a box. (Harry, Tamil Nadu)

His reflection is introspective; it doesn't ask approval, nor does it demand an audience. It even seems that he's not talking to anyone, only himself. For Harry, like for Roz and Freya, this reflection rises out of the affective moments that have remained somewhere in the

body and their continued resonance pushes in important ways on the practices and attitudes associated with global citizenship.

These perspectives on ICS evidence a significant portion of life on placement unfolding at the level of the body. The significance of this is that for volunteers such as Josie, Becky and others, connections are made with hosts that are centred on the shared capacities of the body, rather than the divisional capacities of language and/or assigned subject positions such as volunteer/host. Even if it is only fleeting, this conjures a vision of more equitable relations between constituents of the North and South. There is also the recurrent indication that, such as in the case of the volunteers working in urban slum communities, mediated affects are displaced by firsthand affective sensing of poverty and inequality. Polly, Rob, Nadeem and others above each present aspects of poverty sensed through their bodies and they each give the impression that there is, to use Polly's phrase, 'another dimension' that – the volunteers explicitly concede – escapes representation in language. This would suggest that this textual data, complete with the pauses, reformulations and silences, is a verbal trace of this dimension and that it, crucially, 'hits' (Nadeem's term) the body 'harder' than the affective dimension of development their bodies are 'hit' by pre-departure. That this is the case situates these volunteers in an affective world apart from that constructed by the British media and, by extension, the parallel affective elements of Government and ICS discourse on development and poverty. There is something more to the affective experience of being on placement, and it seems to rest on the firsthand affecting presence of other bodies that results in seemingly more profound affective states and affective bonds. The result is an assemblage of exchanges animated by 'warmth', 'respect' and 'acceptance' and simultaneously dampened by 'discomfort', 'shock' and 'speechlessness' (all of these terms were used by volunteers). At this stage, therefore, we might recognise that even if bodies are affectively 'primed' by Western and specifically British imaginaries of development, once volunteers are engaged in development work they experience intensities on the ground that work through the body in manifold ways that we cannot so readily ascribe to constellations of power. These volunteers take up global citizenship on different terms, and affective experience plays a large part in this process.

The reflections of the final group of volunteers (Roz, Freya and Harry) here provide support for this. As they recollect their emotional highs and lows of volunteering, their affective states rouse introspective reflection of material differences between rich and poor. But clearly now, by associating conscious reflection with pre-cognitive processes,

there is a risk of claiming too much in the data. This is a valid concern that might bring into relief an inconsistent application of affect's autonomy, but there is much to be gained if we allow further investigation. We might start by recognising emotions as inextricably linked to but not representative of affects, and articulation as an indicative but always imperfect version of pre-cognitive processes. This is what Massumi describes as 'the emotional translation of affect as capturable life potential' (2002, 41) and allows us to insist on the autonomy of affect (that is, not to forcibly fit it into the symbolic system of language) but also recognise some resonance of affect in cognition and speech. Taking this back to the markedly empathetic reflections on inequality from Roz, Freya and Harry (John) we can more confidently assert that their critical views are associated with their affective engagement with people and poverty. We therefore arrive at a vision of the embodied experience of ICS having some effect on the conscious – or *critical* – minds of volunteers, a notion that would have obvious connotations for attendant interpretations of global citizenship. This is, perhaps, an interpretive leap but it does find support in certain feminist interpretations of affect and empathy such as that of Carolyn Pedwell who writes in the context of work in international development:

[t]hrough establishing empathetic identification with those who are differently positioned to themselves, the possibility exists that (privileged) subjects will experience a radical transformation in consciousness, which leads them not only to respond to the experience of 'the other' with greater understanding and compassion, but also to recognise their own complicity within transnational hierarchies of power. (2012, 166)

For Pedwell work on development and the concomitant inter-subjectivities like those documented above produce a 'radically 'unsettling' affective experience of empathy' and this, crucially, is 'potentially generative of both personal and social change' (ibid.). Returning with this perspective to the reflections above on material differences between rich and poor, and also to the large amount of similar data discussed in Chapter 6 (6.2.2), we can begin to imagine how affective experience of volunteering may, via a 'radical transformation in consciousness', effect correspondingly radical notions of global citizenship.

This section of the chapter has presented ways in which affective moments are important to the experience of volunteering on the ICS programme. The volunteers render a world populated with smiling and laughing children, warm hosts and charged atmospheres. It is also a world of shock, sadness and discomfort as the realities of poverty begin to be felt on placement. As the volunteers become entangled in this affective world they form strong ties to other citizens of the globe and also acquire deeply embodied

knowledge of poverty. From here global citizenship begins to play out in distinctly ‘anti-capitalocentric’ terms: the affective bonds challenge power’s ordering of citizens and neoliberal imaginaries of poverty are fractured by the visceral power of sensing firsthand. These volunteers, therefore, potentially emerge as global citizens on terms autonomous of those set out by the British Government, or those of any other expression of power. This works towards the objective of providing an anticapitalocentric reading of the affective experience of volunteering on the ICS programme. Attention now turns to the chapter’s second objective, that of considering the ways that non-representational phenomena such as affects might be presented in research writing.

### 7.3 Representing affective worlds and performative writing

If we take affect at its most fundamental we have to imagine the elements of experience that exist ‘temporally *prior to* the representational translation of an affect into a knowable emotion [...] [and] spatially located *below* cognition and consciousness and *beyond* reflexivity and humanness’ (Pile 2010, 8, original emphasis). Bringing these phenomena into the form of conventional data analysis, such as that above, thus brings with it a presentation that is incommensurate with the claims of non-representationality made on the data. There is no silver bullet but clues come out of the inter-subjectivity present at the restaurant table I shared with Nitin that I discussed at the beginning of the chapter. At the end of his account he asks poignantly: ‘do you know how success feels?’ I remember this got to me then and it gets to me now; it’s the moment where we’re talking about emotions and asking someone else to feel them despite not being a firsthand witness. This has been an undercurrent of the discussion so far, where bodies and affects are at risk of reduction to the conventions and rhetoric of “discussion” and “analysis”. The unease comes with the rupture between a signifier and, in light of the evocative story Nitin tells, the sensory experience that “success” can only inadequately signify. And, as with the recurrent references to speechlessness related by many of the volunteers above, there is a strong sense that the experience cannot be separated from the body and therefore has, at best, an uneasy relationship with language. My being moved - excited, tense, relieved - evidences Nitin’s and my presence in the interview as material, his words augmented by his expressions that brought his intensity into our shared space, acting on my body in ways I can only now describe as ‘excitement’, ‘tension’ and ‘relief’. The affective tenor of his narrative was ‘communicated non-verbally and non-cognitively through [the] interview encounter’ (Bondi 2014, 44). In turn, and in recognition of this, my subsequent

presentation of the interview as a ‘performance event’ wants to reflect this, it wants Nitin to ‘come alive as a person’, to ‘come off the page’ (Denzin 2001, 29). This takes us to a point where language might not only be a reductive structure that drags rich experiences back into some kind of symbolic order. Instead affects run through the imaginations that drive narrative. This is certainly the case with that of Nitin and hopefully the case in the opening to this chapter.

This leads to consideration of just how the presentation of data might reflect some of the ‘imperceptible dynamism’ of affective experience (Clough 2008). In Chapter 2 on methods I discussed this briefly (2.6.3), outlining a mode of ‘performative writing’ that has been employed recently in geographical research by, for example, Liz Bondi (2014) and Ken Little (2013) in which creative figures are incorporated into social science writing in an effort to (re)evolve affective data rather than take hold of and interpret it. In this thesis so far I have at times taken a similar approach, most notably in the description of a particularly affective photograph in Chapter 4 (4.5.2) and at the beginning of this chapter where I recounted the interview lunch with Nitin. In both of these examples I recognised the principle that affects are felt and not read (O’Sullivan 2001) and followed practical advice to write evocatively (Pollock 1998) and reference ‘sparingly’ (Dewsbury 2010). The two passages therefore take leave of well established writing norms. What follows aims to take this further by attempting to bring the body closer to the text and thus evoke a world that shares something of the affective worlds I constantly encountered while visiting ICS projects in India.

In a now-famous 1976 essay Hélène Cixous advocates the practice of *écriture féminine* as a mode of deconstructing the gendered process of writing, she implores us to ‘write through [our] bodies’ in a style that ‘sweeps away syntax’ (1976, 886). Instantly this would seem to offer much to the aims of this mode of writing research: that we should write ‘*through* and *with* the body’ (Elam 2002, 62, original emphasis) fuses form and content such that the text itself might become affective. Writing from here begins to take on a performative role, it speaks ‘from the body, evocatively... calls on the sensuous, the figurative, and the expressive’ (Pelias 2007, 183) and opens the reader to ‘worlds that are other-wise intangible, unlocatable: worlds of memory, pleasure, sensation, imagination, affect, and in-sight’ (Pollock 1998, 80). Quite clearly there is much to be gained by using this approach to writing on sensory-rich data. In mind of this the following section presents data from participation on six different ICS projects in the Southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

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#### 7.4 Southern India, October 2012

This is a story about a group of westerners in contact with Others. At the beginning—it is important to remember—the encounter is simultaneously facilitated and bounded by neoliberal globalisation: the westerners travel over an unfettered Earth, pulled by notions of self-advancement, pushed by the chance to write a narrative of identity. The Others enjoy limited mobility—they rarely move—and they are exactly as passive as the westerners are active. In this way the coming together is delineated by the skewed geographies of globalisation. It weighs heavy. But this is also very much a story of people together, of bodies drifting in a constitutive milieu, through contingent moments of shared affects that animate the lives of these disparate peoples. Contact begins hard but softens in its unfolding on non-verbal channels, it reverberates through the body and incarnates as sensations without names. This is a story that asks faith, begs you suspend what you know, allow yourself to touch and be touched.

The scene is a village in a remote part of Karnataka, Southern India, its name is difficult-to-pronounce.<sup>3</sup> The first thing you notice as you arrive is a wonderful contrast between the lush vegetation and the maroon dust of the ground, it's visually sensuous and makes for great photographs (Alder 1989). It's hot, stiflingly so, the air is heavy with monsoon; rainy season lingers. There is something uncanny to being here, it's strange in its sights, smells and sounds but at the same time familiar figures populate the village: cattle doze in the shade, excitable children play cricket and a *sadhu*-like man leans tranquilly on his *chhadi*. Sari-ed women animate the village carrying impossible loads on their heads, their bangles uninterrupted from wrist to elbow. The village and its people, it is difficult not to notice, exude a certain poor rural charm. Somehow the westerners knew that it would be this way, they're part of a post-Band Aid generation (Lousley 2013).

The Westerners number nine or so and are full of enthusiasm. They are here as ICS volunteers to work for a development NGO that works to improve sanitation for poor rural communities. Their lack of formal training doesn't matter; they are full of enthusiasm and eager to *give* their time and sweat to *help* the community. This, importantly for them, marks them out from less-ethical presences in the South (Mustonen 2007). "Poverty", one tells me, "brings with it responsibility" and this project is a good chance to "give back", to

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<sup>3</sup> The data presented in this section of the chapter comes out of time spent on ICS projects in six villages on the border between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.





fig 7.3

*The village: the first thing you notice as you arrive is a wonderful contrast between the lush vegetation and the maroon dust of the ground, it's visually sensuous and makes for great photographs*



“make a difference”.<sup>4</sup> All of the volunteers nod at this point: “these people have nothing and we should do something to help”. As they walk around the village and look on their poor host community they typically reason “but they’re so happy” and “it makes you realise how lucky you are”. “It’s a good thing for my CV” many of them hope. They’re on their way to universities, jobs in the City, LPCs, MAs, NVQs, PhDs, internships on Chancery Lane, social work in Broken Britain. “This is a great opportunity” for them to “broaden horizons”, to “get on the job ladder”; to capitalise on this Southern space as a ‘place to play’ (Fainstein and Judd 1999).

By now these volunteers are familiar figures: apparently the planet is full of unqualified (Raymond and Hall 2008) “givers” (Sin 2009) rationalising geo-inequalities as “poor-but-happy” (Crossley, 2012) and experiencing reflection on their privilege (Conran 2011). These are the “postcolonial flâneurs” (Williams 1997) of globalisation, the “good neoliberal subjects” of volunteering (Vrasti 2012) formed through the mobilities offered by late capitalism (Urry 2007).

The Others are different, obviously. The Others have dark dry skin and speak an incomprehensible *tongue*, not so much words as sounds. They make strange gestures—*yes* is indistinguishable from *no*—and seemingly spend much of the day cultivating and preparing food; they eat with their hands. Rice is *breakfast*, cow faeces adorn doorsteps and morning starts with worship of an elephant deity. None of them tweets or *likes*. Instead, as the sun lowers they gather at a mystical tree and tell stories of the beasts of the surrounding forest. They could also be ‘animals’ of course but ‘beasts’ somehow fits. One of their cousins from a nearby village is at a local university but, for most, work comes thanks to the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005) which promises a small amount of work at a rate of 120 rupees (£1.20) per day. Pay is often late and partial.

The familiarity of these figures is uncanny, known yet unknown. They are the “receivers” (Palacios 2010) of development, the “volunteered” or “voluntoured” (McGehee and Andereck 2009) whose presence is Orientalised in the spaces of volunteering (Griffin 2013) and western travel (Urry and Larsen, 2011). The Others are everything the westerners are not, the object to their subject; passive in a world where it’s good to be active, the ‘exotic beings’ on the edge of consciousness (Said 1978). When we read of international volunteering they are barely detectable between the lines, seldom escaping the “established cultural frames” of the volunteer imagination (Snee 2013). These people too are the subjects of neoliberal globalisation, brought into being through the

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<sup>4</sup> All of the volunteer quotes in this section of the chapter come from interview transcripts or field notes from participatory data collection.

‘persistent asymmetry’ of global mobilities (Lorimer 2010) that ensures Others ‘loom large’ (Prasad and Prasad 2002) but remain essentially (and *essentialised*) ‘distant strangers’ (Corbridge 1998).

At the entrance to the village is a small temple fresh with offerings from the morning’s *pūja*. As the volunteers make their way from their cramped quarters they feel isolated, none of them has spoken to loved ones back home in more than a month, the closest connection is 35 miles away, and it’s dial-up. They feel “cut off from the world”, some are enthused by the challenge of “life without needless comforts”, others lament “doing great things but I can’t tell people”. Despite its disconnect, this is a highly globalised space, populated as it is by Northern constituents helping, benefiting from and defining their Southern counters (Mowforth and Munt 2008). Nonetheless the volunteers feel “out of place”, like “they don’t belong” - but they knew it would be “tough” and they know it will be “worthwhile in the end”. “Worthwhile”, “rewarding”, “stimulating” and other gratifications of (post)modern labour (Orbach 2008) weave through the long, TV-less conversations before bed.

On this project the volunteers are building ‘eco-san’ toilets and compost stores to help fertilise the fields around the village. The Others defecate in the forest and the NGO cites health reasons to advocate for toilet use, the villagers by and large feel it more natural to use the forest. There are two disused eco-san toilets already from a project two years previous. They sit inconspicuously at either edge of the village until the volunteers arrive, then they take on meaning; evidence of another ‘spurious’ (VSO 2007) volunteer project? The volunteers begin to doubt: “it seems they don’t even want them [toilets], I wonder why we’re here sometimes”. Still, they all know that toilets are better, more civilised even.

Before work some of the volunteers have *tilak* painted on their foreheads, some practice yoga before the sun begins to sear. It makes them feel more authentic, it makes this place seem more authentic, too. “This is everything I wanted of India” sighs one volunteer, evidently relaxed in her post-yoga sweat, “I love how much they have tradition”. They quietly delight in their passage through a ‘sacred liminoid’ (Mustonen 2006) offered to them by this sub-continental ‘pleasure periphery’ (Desforges 2000); the Third World an ‘unchanged and exotic remnant of another time’ (Echtner and Prasad 2003, 669). One day there is a village feast—‘feast’ (like ‘beast’), not ‘dinner’, seems to fit—and the volunteers “love every minute”. They get to “dance and eat like real Indians”, “experience something you wouldn’t [if] just backpacking”, each one of them wants to “bottle it up” for posterity. Something niggles, however: as “honoured guests”, their immersion is momentary,

asymmetric. Each knows that in three or so months she will be home in the UK living off the cultural capital of just another ‘cool’ (Desforges 1998) volunteer experience ‘to display to peers’ (Simpson 2005, 451) and boast to professional suitors (Jones 2011).

The Others, of course, will remain largely untouched and known to us only in memory. They are weighed down by our ‘mental luggage of grand narratives’ (Elsrud 2000, 601), consigned eternally to this ‘treasured landscape’ (Aitchison 2001, 137). Future appearances will be limited to the ‘fateful moments’ of volunteers’ identity-asserting anecdotes (Desforges 2000).

After *tilak* and yoga, the volunteers prepare for work. They lend me some boots and a flimsy spade. The village is small (“14 families”) but feels busy, across the road (it’s not a road) six huts shimmer in the not-yet fierce heat. Life here wakes promptly to beat the sun, walking down the hill every child stops to stare at our difference. Their faces are warm, one woman in particular smiles expectantly. None of them tell me but she’s obviously familiar to the volunteers. She touches her chest gently and bows her head. Hers is a warm smile; it’s a smile that speaks of care, love even; it says “welcome”, we understand that and it feels good. Her daughter appears, barefooted in an immaculate pink sari, she has a tray of tea. None of us particularly care for *chai*, it’s sickly sweet and unfamiliarly spiced. Nonetheless we smile and drink, two of us instantly feel the pang; lactose intolerance would ensure an uncomfortable morning. This is not a great place to be sick. This concern fades and the volunteers drink through their smiles while the woman speaks – whatever she’s saying, it sounds nice. I know this not from her words but from her eyes. The daughter is very pleased to be around us and carries the tray enthusiastically. She reverently mimics her mother as we drink, trying to match her sip for sip – though it’s too much for her not-yet-insulated mouth. She’s unsure of tea etiquette, eager to grow up, and copies her mother; I remember doing exactly the same. I miss my Mum.. nostalgia holds me and for a moment I’m away, living the present through ‘subjective emotions *from elsewhere*’. I can’t help it; none of us can (Askins 2009, 9 original emphasis). I’m back now, we each smile, touch our chests and fumble *namaskār*.

High on sugar we take the dusty path to the site we’re digging. Already the sun makes itself felt. Like every day our group multiplies along the route as the village’s children follow their curiosity. They stare at our white skin and continuously ask “what’s your name?” With each repeated “my name is Mark”, they burst into fits of laughter. It’s not at all tiresome and their energy passes through the group, laughter is a most intense



fig 7.4

*The children breathe life into the streets, constantly on the move in their world where everything is curious.*

contagion (Provine 1992). The children breathe life into the streets, constantly on the move in their world where everything is curious. As the volunteers' faces become familiar the kids grow in confidence and begin "grabbing your hand and dragging you down the street", they play games and always demand that you bowl over-arm. As we run around after a ball in the game-of-no-rules, sweat pours and our breaths shorten. The movement of our bodies, the laughter, the un-discussed understanding: "they're just kids ... it's not an *us and them* thing". In these moments we forget we're volunteers and we forget they're poor; difference pales. That was last night. This morning the teacher comes out of the school, again smiles—this time a little more guarded—he asks us to give an impromptu English lesson. Gavin, the volunteer leader, reasons that since the masons may be late, two of us can spend an hour in the classroom.

That evening Heather would tell us of the moment she walked in the school "and saw how excited the kids were" she became "nervous". And having planned nothing, she could feel her body recoil at their anticipation. She is on the back foot, thinking through her body's cringe and her face's blush: "so we like did the conga and a Mexican wave and stuff and they loved it". Her account is staccato—it made for a great story, but not such a great transcription—and it animates the room. Both enthusiastic and wistful she recalls "and just their little faces ... they absolutely loved it". After the conga, Becky tells us,

it was just like yelling English words and they were yelling them back and they were all so happy for us to be there and I felt like I don't know we broke down a barrier because when we first came they were all so uncomfortable and it was like oh my god it's us and them and now *it's very much we are them* kind of thing.

After the "lesson" some of the children follow Heather and Becky to the site. They buzz around competing to show how useful they can be. Over time the village's children would come to mean more and more to the volunteers, "they've got nothing but they smile, they have fun"; "they've got so much energy".

As the sun gets too hot the volunteers take a break in the shade. A woman arrives and it seems there's a problem. One of the beneficiary families in the village has already received a compost shed from the NGO while she, who is "of lesser means", would like one. Something's amiss and it seems some leaning-on has come from village seniors with a grudge: she has a child but her husband is dead; there's cultural stuff going on that we don't get. A compost shed, we would later learn, would mean not having to buy compost from the very same village seniors. Our village contact is not surprised and explains that underhandedness is commonplace, part of the terrain. The situation is instantly messy: a British Government volunteer programme, in partnership with a local NGO, through a

local unaffiliated “facilitator” has, almost without doubt, allocated resources to families according to influence rather than need. Tied in with this are cultural attitudes towards marriage and widowing. It all seems too much, a cruel quirk, where a British presence and potential intervention is entirely disconcerting. I resist the researcher in me whispering “Spivak”. I’m losing something in this constant recourse to other stuff. I decide to sense the moment, set aside what I think I know, move *unthinkingly*.

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The woman—her name is Ashima—approaches Gavin. She’s slight and weathered. Her black *bindi* marks her out as widowed. She occasionally works, but not as much as she’d like. Gavin is 24, from Cardiff and a graduate in IT management. There’s no interpreter but Ashima hasn’t thought about that, she addresses Gavin unhesitantly with words—noises—he cannot decipher. Kannada is a very plosive language and both the tongue and lips work hard. Still, he explains quite eloquently, that he doesn’t understand. But she’s clearly quite upset and awkwardness hangs in the air. Her tears deepen the silence, pass through him, readying his body: he does understand, and she understands that he understands. Gavin is in an affected state, his body pushes on his words, he wants desperately to act through his intersubjectivity: “we’ll do what we can”, he says and while the words tell her nothing, his voice and face tell her everything. “We’ll come tomorrow and start foundations”, it’s a promise he may not be able to keep (he does in the end) but he’s *moved* to make it. Both expressions turn to mirrored smiles, they bounce off each other, each curvature of the mouth goading the next of the other. This is a poignant moment as Ashima and Gavin reach each other and push each other corporeally, through the transpersonal capacity to affect and be affected.

Between Ashima’s and Gavin’s faces pass messages ‘too elusive for science’ that ‘bewitch’ and ‘lure’, messages that are picked up on by the other’s ‘facial deftness’ and they—precognitively—attune to the other’s transmissions. These affect and are affected as they pass between their and our bodies. The lines in her face come together as a smile broadens. It’s not a fake smile, he knows this because he perceives the *zygomatic major* working with the *orbicularis oculi* under her skin – involuntarily stimulated muscles that assure us the expression is genuine. To his body this is a familiar cue. He perceives—*feels*—her positive emotion and his *zygomatic major* expands as an automatic reaction emerging without attention or conscious awareness. They’re now on a non-verbal channel—but we

can pick it up, we're all sentient—where synapses fire to work the face into a smile, a process of 'affective microsequences' that culminate in a resonant affective state; her smile elicits his (and his hers). Slowing down the moment in this way deconstructs the thick layer of socio-cultural formations that weighs heavy, it allows us to puncture and rupture the source of difference between us.

We dig some more before dusk and mosquitoes arrive. Then, as happens each evening, the volunteers are given tea and fried sweets at Shyamala's house. Everybody is on a high – Shyamala is happy to have guests, the volunteers feel accepted and no-one notices the tea is too sweet. Shyamala gestures, points and speaks—ostensibly about the television—then on comes a film and all the girls amongst us are implored to dance. What follows is a spontaneous dance lesson on the polished floor. Shyamala leads each girl by the hand for a couple of bars, it's a little like spinning plates as each of the volunteers gradually loses the steps. There are three or four younger girls here too, the beaded fringe of their *lehenga* jangle to the beat – it's delightful and it enriches this musical, colourful and humid sensorium. Hands pass through hands and the 'sensuous manifestations' of touch reveal the 'potential for feeling and connection' (Tahhan 2012). Crucially, this moment of real intimacy implicates and positions us in the world sensually, splitting us off from structural impositions, transcending constructions of identity. The room is warm with people. The song repeats to fade and rhythm gives way to the staccato of applause, a social contagion *par excellence*. A satisfied silence follows and in this moment there's nowhere else to be: volunteers and village are indistinguishable, their bodies resound to the same affective beat.

Back at "home" (a disused community hall in which 13 of us sleep on the floor) we sit around to prepare dinner. I ask what so far has been the most important part of their volunteering experience. There's a unanimous response: the connections they've made in the community. "The people, definitely... two families in particular I've build a bond with and we've made a lot of friends", there is an "obvious connection between our volunteers and the village community and so and because it's so easy just to do and get involved". This was especially true for female volunteers who often spoke of connections with women in the village. Ellie reiterates the formation of bonds beyond language "the women we've really like bonded with but we can't speak a word to each other really" and Charlie adds "like that lady who comes up to look at us cooking we have like inside jokes with her like she always calls me "Mary" even though it's not my name and she always finds it hilarious". The girls laugh as they talk about it, the affect lingers. These are connections that "make you think", restarts Dan, "about all the crap that we have"—this is by now a familiar

reflection—“and just how much of it is needless”. Tom picks up the thought: “it’s embarrassing and really makes you feel the difference between here and home”, these idle evenings of chat are replete with introspection. Jo adds: “it makes me question all the stuff that I work for – what’s the point, you know?” Nobody needs to answer this, there’s a (con)sensual silence. They talk of the “guilt” and the “shame” that comes with their privileged positions, how the “warmth” of people puts in sharp relief the falseness of their difference, the “absurdity” of it all.



fig 7.5

The village settles early. Noise comes only from the rustles and scurries of the forest. The stillness sets into contrast the village’s waking vibrancy. We relax, the day’s intensities resonating silently as they ‘pass transformatively through the flesh’ (Massumi 2002).

For three months the bodies in the village would repeat these experiences every day. The sensorium ebbing and flowing in intensity, some days it’s too much, “I couldn’t stop crying”, others it seems impotent, “I just want to be home today”, but each moment courses through the body. It stays with them somehow, becoming part of them through the quotidian repetition that makes these affects familiar to the body. They become stored as deposits in ‘affectively imbued memory banks’ that might direct future trains of thought (Connolly 2002). Eventually the NGO and ICS will decide to move on to another village.



Most probably the NGO is pressed by its funder (it is) and the state Government, and perhaps the eco-san toilets will be underused (they are) but these are, for the moment, details. The life of the village sets the volunteers and hosts in a 'co-constituting entanglement' (Little 2013) from which rise subjectivities interstitial to the neat binaries of neoliberal empire.

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### 7.1 An affective Multitude?

In the village the sensuous and figurative touched bodies in ways such that their subjectivities became *disordered* from the order imposed by categorisations of North-South, volunteer-host and so on. My recourse to performative writing is an attempt to evoke the affects and emotions that were present in the field. It takes direction from Katy Bennett's position:

it is not just about you reading me, but being aware of yourself reading, feeling, and being touched by that feeling. Maybe now I am able to take you on my exploration of intersubjectivity. This way I might not have to tell you, tie myself up in knots telling you, what it is. It is not easily told, but far easier felt. (2000, 120)

Of course, my attempt is at times clumsy and lacks the creative hand that would enhance this effect (and its affects). Nonetheless, the narrative offers something that could not have been conveyed had I attempted a more conventional academic analysis. Where the bodies of poor hosts and volunteers come together we get a sense of the ways that affective bonds can transcend the subject positions circumscribed by power. The body, then, becomes a presence that resists, 'emerges as a political presence' (Pelias 2007, 183). This is true of Ashima, Gavin, Shyamala and many of the other figures of the narrative; they emerge uninhibited by the subjectivities that are endemic to North-South encounters. The story is a similar one for Nitin, Becky, Harry and those volunteers whose experience of poor places and connections with poor people pushed the body to act and even think in ways tied closely to embodied experience that do not defer to the uneven structures that facilitate the encounter. There is scope, therefore, to argue that the affective experience of volunteering might transcend the neoliberal practices of stakeholders. Global citizenship rises in a different way. It is no longer the preserve of privileged volunteers but the emergence of a new subjectivity out of the spaces created by the global mobilities facilitated, accelerated and entrenched by neoliberal globalisation. By evading the attendant subject positions of neoliberalism the bodies of this space of volunteering resist; not (yet) in a revolutionary sense, but through the destabilisation of truths, 'challenging subjectivities and normalising discourses' (Thomas and Davies 2005, 720). From the account provided in this chapter the ICS projects have become a subversive places whose constituents emerge with new subjectivities.

This is a story, then, of the spaces opened up by neoliberal globalisation being re-appropriated by the very passions and emotions that are foreclosed in the rational logic of neoliberal capitalism. Justice, as an 'economic duty' to the poor, is slighted and reanimated

with its normative ‘principles of care, love, kindness, and commitment to shared responsibility, to honesty, truth, balance and harmony’ (Denzin and Giardina 2007, 24). The importance of this is difficult to overstate. Predicating justice and solidarity on these terms restores their intrinsically human aspects: ‘it is precisely on this capacity for shared subjectivity and knowledge that moral values are founded, that emancipatory knowledge is constructed, and that human solidarity is established’ (Darder and Mirón 2006, 17). Affect in this way opens the world to different political realities. ‘Love’ is a particular affect that has captured the imagination of various writers. The Marxist critics Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, for example, call on the ‘Multitude’ (proletariat) to engage affective life and love in the name of justice:

Militancy today is a positive, constructive, and innovative activity. This is the form in which we and all those who revolt against the rule of capital recognise ourselves as militants today. Militants resist imperial command in a creative way. In other words, resistance is linked immediately with a constitutive investment in the biopolitical realm and to the formation of cooperative apparatuses of production and community. Here is the strong novelty of militancy today: it repeats the virtues of insurrectional action of two hundred years of subversive experience, but at the same time it is linked to a new world, a world that knows no outside. It knows only an inside, a vital and ineluctable participation in the set of social structures, with no possibility of transcending them. This inside is the productive cooperation of mass intellectuality and affective networks, the productivity of postmodern biopolitics. This militancy makes resistance into counterpower and makes rebellion into a project of love (2000, 413).

The call here is to embrace the new spaces provided by capitalism and to use them productively to ‘form a social body that is more powerful than any of our individual bodies alone’ (Hardt and Negri 2009, 180). Antonia Darder and Luis Mirón call this ‘revolutionary love - a love linked to a struggle grounded in a shared kinship, political self-determination and economic justice’ (2006, 18-19).

We can feel this in formation on the ICS projects. The subjectivities that rise out of intersubjectivities prove testament that “things could be otherwise” (Gibson-Graham 2003). It is here that a new politics of hope is established. The dystopia of aggressive capitalism, consumerism and neoliberalism replacing all that makes us human with market logic evaporates in the heat of the moment. What returns is solidarity and the prospect of justice through this authentic and intense connection between people; the qualities that make us human return. If ICS volunteers carry this with them then they may just be the beginning of a global citizenry that push affectively towards more justice in a better future.

Global citizenship on the ICS programme, this research project has shown, takes shape from two perspectives. From one it is constructed by the Government as an apolitical and ahistorical (dis)engagement with critical issues in international development, with a strong emphasis on self-advancement. It is, in short, a neoliberalised “soft” iteration of global citizenship. From a volunteer perspective, however, once we get ‘on the ground’ global citizenship plays out in manifold ways that re-historicise and re-politicise, thus indicating that ICS volunteers are more “critical” global citizens. In this brief conclusion I provide a summary of the study and outline the contributions it makes to current debates in academic research. Where I refer to research questions I include footnotes for ease of reading. This is followed by a consideration of how the research presented here indicates future lines of inquiry.

#### 8.1 Summary and contributions

The research presented in this thesis shows that volunteers on the ICS programme are offered global citizenship on “soft” terms. The analysis presented in Chapter 3 identified two ways in which “critical” iterations of global citizenship are foreclosed in favour of “softer” versions. The programme’s development imaginary, in line with that of the wider Government and DfID, erases uncomfortable historical and current geopolitical relations, and encourages little (or no) critical engagement with the injustices and inequalities inherent to colonial and neo-colonial constellations of power. The second aspect of this “softness” comes in the heavy emphasis on self-advancement and the engaging of volunteers in a ‘project of the self’ that allies personal objectives with the (neo)liberal ideal of a self-managing population. The analysis presented in this part of the study tracked these aspects of global citizenship as they form through the political rationalities of neoliberal governance. It thus goes beyond what is commonly termed “roll back” neoliberalism to examine the new forms that are “rolled out”, the result is an account of the construction of global citizenship that intersects with both directly related literatures (on global citizenship, international volunteering and global civil society) and with more theoretical work on neoliberalism itself.

Recent research on global citizenship and international volunteering has focussed on development imaginaries and their pedagogical role in helping to form volunteers’ views on the world and their role within it (1.1.1). In its examination of the development imaginary of ICS, Chapter 3 has provided a commentary that complements and updates

recent research focussed on the British Government's work in development, education and global citizenship (Biccum 2005; 2007; Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Diprose 2012;). Though there is not a huge departure from this existing work, the present research does offer new material on the current Coalition Government and it does, by exploring neoliberalism as a flexible form, begin a dialogue on the ways that the development imaginary appeals to different iterations of global citizenship. This, the subject of research question one,<sup>1</sup> is a potentially significant contribution: while it is often commented that both global citizenship and volunteering appeal to different political sensibilities, so far I have not come across work that begins from these ambiguities and seeks to apply an understanding of neoliberalism as flexible to unpick the attendant multi-layered constructions of global citizenship. Nowhere is this more evident in this study than where we find the Prime Minister effectively calling on G8 protesters to participate on the ICS programme as global citizens (3.4.1). At this point in the research we find that the Government's discursive construction of global citizenship is a good example of the "flexible beast" at work (Bondi 2005) as the energies of radical politics (Occupy, G8 protestors) are harnessed at the conspicuously depoliticised site of ICS.

This part of the study also provides an account of a long-held concern in research on neoliberal governance to do with subjectivity and Foucauldian modes of 'arranging things' such that citizens are brought into an alliance with the political and economic trajectory of the state. The construction of global citizenship on the ICS programme and its heavy emphasis on 'kick start your career' adds to the already large body of work in this area that draws, as I do, on the influential work of Nikolas Rose. While the contribution to this body of work specifically is not especially original, what the analysis does offer is a critique of global citizenship as a neoliberalising 'project of the self' that has attempted to add much-needed substance to the sometimes quite sweeping claims that the Big Society agenda is a neoliberal intervention in social life and the third sector (Smith 2010; Mycock and Tonge 2011). Further substance comes in the detailed analysis of the way that the ICS consortium was put together and the DfID strategy of issuing Contracts instead of Grants; the ethnographic data presented on this provides further evidence that neoliberalising techniques are becoming ever more prevalent in the (global) civil society organisations that manage international volunteering programmes, thus building on existing work that tracks the presence of power in development actors within global civil society (1.2; 3.1).

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<sup>1</sup> Given the heterogeneity of different concepts of global citizenship, how should we understand that promoted by DfID through ICS?

By engaging these ideas in an empirical case study this research has attempted to document the political rationalities that underlie the Government's version of global citizenship and thus 'adds content' to the sometimes unspecific – and even unsubstantiated – claims made of neoliberalism's predominance as an ideological form of policy making. In so doing the research is also automatically brought into conversation with the many commentators who over recent years have sought to disassociate the study of governance and neoliberalism with heavy-handed terms such as "neoliberal logic" and/or "ideology" (Larner 2000; 2003; Bondi and Laurie 2005) in favour of attending to neoliberalism as an 'interaction with other cultural formations or discourses' (Kingfisher 2002, 165) and examining the 'hybrid or composite structures' that result (Peck and Tickell 2002). This is the case where the analysis tracks the project of the self in the Government's construction of global citizenship; taking this and reading it against influential work in the social sciences provides an evidence-based critique of the ongoing implementation of a 'flagship' Government policy. There is also an explication of 'interaction with cultural formations' where the research, as already mentioned, details Government discourse as flexible and able to make appeals to the different iterations of global citizenship that span the full length of the political spectrum. This provides a documented case of the 'co-optation' or 'commodification' of positions that challenge or oppose power (Frank and Weiland 1997; Jackson 2002b; Bryant and Goodman 2003; Jenkins 2005).

Chapter 4 attended to the production of affects through expressions of power and mapped their relations with ICS and global citizenship. This part of the thesis has documented the perhaps more subtle – and perhaps, for that, more pervasive – affective aspects of neoliberal power and how they work through the programme to address volunteers as sentient and even precognitive bodies. The first part of this discussion was concerned with one of the central foci of the study of affect in the social sciences that 'affect is central to an understanding of our information-and-image based late capitalist culture' (Massumi 2002, 27). While the link between a 1984 news report and an ICS volunteer (aged 18-25, or born 1989-1996) might at first seem tenuous, the account documented a case of what Nigel Thrift has termed '[the] firestorms of affect that periodically grip the world' (2003a, 2020) and grounded the commentary by drawing parallels with the affective register of the Government's development imaginary. Examining the ways that this affective imaginary works through the ICS programme and global citizenship speaks directly to recent and ongoing academic work on MINDSPACE and the Government's so-called "Nudge Unit" (Jones et al. 2011; Pykett 2012; Dolan et al.

2013). Where this work examines what the Government *intends to do* with “Type 1 thinking”, the research in this thesis provides a case of what the Government *may actually be doing*. The study’s focus on affect and the making of global citizens, therefore, has attempted both to speak to the widely shared feeling that power shows a ‘tendency towards the greater and greater engineering of affect’ (Thrift 2004a, 64) and to present a localised case that documents the specific ways that life is made instrumental for political ends.

This part of the study hopefully makes quite an original contribution to the study of affects and power. Whereas much research has focused on the evocation of the future and related affects such as hope and anxiety through, for example, the spectre of terrorism (Massumi 2005; Anderson and Adey 2011), few studies I have come across have explored more subtle renderings of the future, hope and anxiety. While it seems wholly possible that the prospect of terror precipitates affective states that are conducive to pre-emptive action, it is far more difficult to confidently link the less dramatic promises of travel, career and connections with the pull to take up (certain iterations of) global citizenship. That this is a markedly less dramatic transmission of affect makes research of this type paradoxically more urgent. As I argued in Chapter 4, the very subtlety of these affective forms may well make them all the more pervasive. Building an understanding, then, of these ‘banal’ circulations of affect could quite possibly lead us to appreciate the pre-cognitive realm in which much of life plays out, and the ‘choice architecture’ that is used to interfere (Ariely 2009). The commentary in Chapter 4 uses evidence to speculate on how this might be the case on the ICS programme and its construction of global citizenship. However faint one considers these connections, they are worth recognising, researching and documenting, especially in this “new brain world” of policy making in which we are all ‘post-rational human subjects’. In this New World it is exactly this small scale ‘subconscious processing’ (the words of a chief policy maker, 4.3) that is targeted by Whitehall staff. More understanding and study is needed in this area but I hope the research here has gone some way to providing an understanding of the affective intervention on subjectivity (that is, citizenship) presented by the ICS programme and its call to global citizenship.

The resulting perspective on the ICS model of global citizenship is one from which its connections to neoliberal expressions of power are clear to see. The British Government offers global citizenship via a neoliberalised development imaginary, an emphasis on self-advancement and the obligation to volunteer domestically for its Big Society agenda. Greater justice and trans-national solidarity are not foreclosed altogether, but they are stripped of their radical potential in a distinctly “soft” iteration of what it

means to be a global citizen. Important historical and political contexts to do with colonialism and neo-colonialism are conspicuously absent. Even where these contexts are brought into the construction of global citizenship, they are so clearly diluted that we can only conclude that cursory commentary on, for instance, debt and IMF are examples of the flexibility of neoliberal discourse. Added to this appeal is a both subtle and powerful call made directly to the body through emotive textual figures and lively image-rich marketing. Though none of the affective ‘pushes’ communicated via these means could alone be considered decisive, accumulatively there builds a case that volunteers are drawn to the programme via affect and that these affects cannot wholly be separated from neoliberal imaginaries of development. These are important areas for research and by attending to such a range of understandings of power – the focus of research question two<sup>2</sup> – we document the potentially deleterious presence of power in social life.

The interaction of research questions three<sup>3</sup> on volunteers’ understanding of global citizenship and four<sup>4</sup> on how research should approach power has brought important correctives to the study. Implicitly I had imagined that the interpretation of volunteer ethnographies would be shaped by the power-centric analytical frames of Chapters 3 and 4. However, once in the field I sensed that this approach would betray the data provided by the volunteers and the spaces in which they worked. As I have made clear, this came out of two aspects of the field work that might broadly be described as volunteers’ autonomy of thought and volunteers’ autonomy of body. In the first instance the volunteers cited and developed a broad range of alternative discursive understandings related to development and the self. In the second, their embodied experiences of poverty and encounters with people were rich in ways that differed markedly to the affective repertoires identified with power in Chapter 4. The ensuing imperative was to explore this as an emergent form of global citizenship taking place on both cognisant and pre-cognisant levels. This led to the study’s position on doing ‘research towards a better future’: just as power is reflexive, knowing and affective; so too is life. Denying this, I argued in Chapter 5, commits a conceptual, epistemological and ethical indiscretion. While power is able to work in, on and through subjects this does not mean that there is no “outside”. Applying this position to the presentation of the volunteers’ ethnographies took the research in new directions in ways I hope make the study a useful contribution to existing literature on volunteering and

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<sup>2</sup> Given the different understandings of neoliberalism how we can use them to track neoliberalisation on the ICS programme and its promotion of global citizenship?

<sup>3</sup> How do volunteers understand and practice global citizenship?

<sup>4</sup> How should socially engaged research engage with neoliberalism?



citizenship and, in the opening of possibilities, suggests future lines of inquiry that might explore further the vision of a better future presented in the pages of this thesis.

Chapter 6 began the ethnographic, volunteer-centred account of volunteering on the ICS programme. By putting into practice J.K. Gibson-Graham's research praxis of 'difference over dominance', the chapter showed how volunteers on the ICS programme drew on diverse discursive sources to effect an understanding and practice of global citizenship that is markedly removed from that of the Government. This not only comes through as a result of the approach taken to this research but is also evidence-based with a large amount of responses in interviews and focus groups drawing on subversive and resistant discursive resources that are more closely associated with more critical – and in some cases quite radical – iterations of global citizenship. For instance, volunteers, despite the foreclosure of colonial histories in the development imaginary of ICS, continually show themselves to be aware of the past and, crucially, its injustices that, even more crucially, bear on the present. Likewise, the current geopolitical realities of tariffs and dependency are referenced by volunteers as they elaborate on their understandings of uneven patterns of development. This presents a different (not contradictory but complementary) view of important and widely cited work on international volunteering that implicates the absence of critical pedagogy in the subsequent lack of knowledge on issues that are constitutive of global citizenship. In contrast to this other work, volunteers are shown in this study to overcome, in important ways, the lack of challenge to a status quo by generating and circulating their own perspectives on history and politics. They pose and work through important questions to do with their own capabilities to make a difference; the ICS idealised skill sets; their career trajectories; their positions in a consumerist society and the roles volunteering asks of them. They bring potent postcolonial critique to their understandings of development; question their positionality; evoke colonial histories; repopulate the silences of development discourse and deliver damning critiques of ongoing Northern dominance over the South. They even question the programme itself, David Cameron and the very idea of global citizenship as it is constructed on the ICS programme. In short: the volunteers re-politicise and re-historicise and therefore re-appropriate the idea of global citizenship for themselves. This is all in the data and it demands that we recognise them as "critical" global citizens.

Chapter 7 told an analogous story on the precognisant level of the body. After demonstrating the importance of affective experience for the volunteers included in this study, the discussion goes on to argue that their embodied responses to poverty and

affective bonds to people in host communities attest to life's multiplicity. That is, the volunteers are affected in ways that cannot be traced back to either a 'priming' media spectacle or a circumscribed emotional (dis)engagement with matters of development. The field unfolds in richer, thicker and infinitely more intense ways; that it does this is testament to the autonomy of the body and life's constant ability to escape. Ultimately, however, just as expressions of power cannot know or control affective elements of life, nor can research. In recognition of this the latter half of the Chapter turned to performative writing to explore the affective world of volunteering on the ICS programme and evoke the nascent elements of global citizenship on placement. The text takes leave of social science writing norms and finishes without conclusion, a conscious attempt at not knowing or controlling the data. It is therefore not only an exploration of the autonomous emergence of global citizenship but it is also further exploration of the position of neoliberalism in documenting social life (research question four); as we reach the end of the Chapter neoliberalism moves further and further into the distance as an analytical frame leaving fresh forms of life to be written into being. It is part rhetorical, part empirical – but research and presentation is never not so (Law and Urry 2004; 5.3).

The contribution made by discussion of the data in Chapters 6 and 7 is, I feel, potentially significant. On the intersection between public imaginaries of development (such as that of the media spectacle) and (Northern) modes of citizenship, Matt Baillie Smith advises we 'move beyond research on the elite production of imaginaries' to focus on the ways that imaginaries are 'negotiated' and how this might reduce the silences in the North on development in the South (2013, 402-408). A major theme of the ethnographic data presented here evidences exactly this process of negotiating (elite) development imaginaries and "voicing" their silences. In a joint publication with a group of researchers on volunteering, Fiona Smith has recently called for 'enlivened accounts' of volunteering that take seriously the 'diverse knowledges' centred on the body that might contrast 'normative' models of citizenship presented by third sector interventions such as the Big Society (Smith et al. 2010). Chapters 6 and 7 (especially 7) have attempted to present such an enlivened account and attend to, as Smith advises, the 'wider emotional repertoires' involved in volunteering: 'belonging, pleasure, sorrow or anger may all be tied up in the emotional experiences of volunteers, motivating volunteers to be involved in the first place or in their relations with others' (ibid., 261). In doing so this part of the thesis has also followed the anti-capitalocentric approach I have referred to throughout (Gibson-Graham 2006). Relatedly, and more specifically to do with the study of affect, Ben Anderson urges

us not only to study ‘how affective capacities and relations are the ‘object-target’ of techniques of governance’ (a fast-growing area of research in human geography, and the subject of Chapter 4) but also ‘how affective life may be an ‘outside’ that exceeds biopolitical mechanisms; and how collective affects become part of the ‘conditions’ for the birth of forms of biopower’ (2012, 30). The ‘outside’ of volunteering on ICS was evoked in the vibrant and visceral life forms I attempted to convey, and the breaking down of power-imposed subject positions (volunteer-host) towards the end of the thesis is a vision of such ‘collective affects’. And, as I have hinted at in the brief closing comments to Chapter 7, it is just possible that in that village we witness the ‘birth of forms of biopower’ (the “bottom up” to the “top down” of ‘biopolitical mechanisms’).

The story, then, is one of domination *and* hope, which may lead to an element of dissonance when considering this research. On the one hand neoliberal power is everywhere and highly capable. Capable even of running through the remote parts of imperceptible selves. On the other “life” is equally capable of escape, of emerging in new forms that evade even the most pervasive presences of power. Dissonance, however, would imply holding these ideas in a balanced appreciation of both power’s capacity to dominate and life’s tendency to evade. This would involve offering a conclusion that emphasises the strong presence of neoliberalism on the programme but also an equally strong presence of subversive and resistant forms of global citizenship that come through volunteering on the ICS programme. However, at the base of this socially engaged study is the recognition that – in its own small way – research writes the world into being: ‘social inquiry and its methods are productive; they (help to) *make* social realities and social worlds’ (Law and Urry 2004, 391, original emphasis). To reinforce this point - one developed in Chapter 5 - I want to turn to the words of Naomi Alfini and Robert Chambers who, in concluding a critique of power-related buzzwords in the construction of development, present a challenge:

together in language we bring forth our world, let us end with an invitation and a challenge [...] If you have read this far, may we invite you to join us in reflecting critically on the words and concepts that you habitually use and how they frame, influence, and reinforce your own thinking and action. And may we then challenge you, and ourselves, to name words that we wish to be used or used more, together to bring forth our future world; and then to use and act on them and spread their use. (2010, 41)

With the objective of doing socially engaged research ‘for a better future’ - and the ensuing question of ‘how do we want to interfere?’ (Law and Urry 2004, 404) - the words of Alfini and Chambers carry weight beyond the field of development to which they refer. They beg

that we be open in our methods, positionalities and political agendas and we allow them to make our outputs performative of something better.

For this research and these conclusions the rigour and balance required comes in the internal dialogue between Chapters 3 and 6, where discursive power meets discursive resistance, and Chapters 4 and 7 where affective power meets escaping affects. Except, as I think is by now quite apparent, the framing of the discussion throughout configures these power-people ‘meetings’ in a certain way. “Flexible” neoliberal discourse in Chapter 3 – apparently capable of appealing to all positions (1.3) - ‘co-opts’ resistant forms of global citizenship (3.4.1). Resistance in Chapter 6, however, comes through the critical re-politicisation and re-historicisation of development and global citizenship. Reflection on poverty and privilege “back home” in both Chapters 6 and 7 is not discussed, as it is elsewhere, in terms of ‘lotto logic’ (Simpson 2005), ‘poor but happy’ (Crossley 2012) or ‘displacement’ (Mostafanezhad 2013). Such reflection is instead discussed as a push against the culture of consumerism (6.2.2) or the verbalisation of an affective resonance connected to the embodied experience of poverty (7.2). And finally, crowds of people in Chapter 4 present an ‘affective push to neoliberalised global citizenship’ (4.5.3.1), where they reappear in the interview with Nitin three chapters later they are an energising intensity that evidences a nascent affective form of biopower (7.1). The research can, then, be seen as a parallax whose angles are recognised as somewhat arbitrarily chosen but, in choosing, is sure in its political, ethical and conceptual rationale.

The research therefore imagines that where power and life are engaged in a circle of co-option and evasion, life will always remain one small step ahead. So, while there is a strong neoliberalising force exerted on the volunteers of ICS, they evade and even transcend neoliberalism to emerge as autonomous and resistant global citizens. Towards research question five,<sup>5</sup> therefore, the response comes through, I believe, quite strongly: another world *is* possible; a better future lies ahead.

## 8.2 Future lines of inquiry

Future inquiry should not only build on but also add to this research. By this I refer to the points in this study where inquiry was inhibited or, because of other foci, was insufficiently in-depth. As I discuss at length in Chapter 2 (2.7.2.4) the most pressing issue comes from the vast amount of unused data from interviews with in-country volunteers. The ICS programme has recently begun to market itself with the statistic ‘14,000 global citizens’,

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<sup>5</sup> What would “research for a better future” look like?

instead of 7,000. The programme therefore would present itself to a cross-cultural study of volunteering and global citizenship, while discussion of the existing data may make for an insightful reflection on the ethics and positionality of interviewing across languages and cultures. This is an ongoing discussion in human geography that has unfolded largely in theoretical terms (Skelton 2001; Valentine 2005); a more applied research piece drawing on Sarah Dyer and David Demeritt's (2009) discussion of Research Ethics Committees (RECs) could provide an applied example of a case where institutionalised practices of ethics can result in unethical research encounters in the field. As I mention in Chapter 2, this is due to be the first part of a post-doctoral project on Border-Crossings and Citizenship at the University of Oulu starting August 2014.

Further analysis of the unused data from stakeholders might be used to prise apart the homogeneous construction of global civil society that comes across at certain points in this research project (certainly at the beginning). As initially conceived, the data collection stage was very much envisaged as a process involving stakeholders on one side and volunteers on the other (2.3.2; 2.7.2.1). In fact, the notion of stakeholder in ICS is problematic from the moment the policy "leaves" Whitehall. From VSO, the most senior organisation in the programme, to the small-scale grassroots organisations in the South, each is at a different degree of remove from the British Government; mapping their relations through the interview data already to hand would be a productive way of tracking the dispersal, acceptance and subversion of the ICS programme's rationalities that undoubtedly emanate from Departmental policy makers. One further addition to this research project would be to take a wider sample of Government discourse on development to provide an account of both its discursive and affective neoliberalisations; this is a task started here (3.2.1; 4.4) but due to restricted space and scope, there is much room left for further analysis that could pick up some of the themes I identify to do with de-historicising, de-politicising and affective figures of suffering.

The research this project most clearly leads to however is one of a longitudinal inquiry into the futures of the global citizens documented here. The idea that the data points to a critical and affective mode of global citizenship that evades or transcends expressions of power is an alluring one, but it might be even more attractive if there were some indication of some longevity that also extends beyond placement and, perhaps crucially, beyond the obligatory three months of UK Action. For as yet, there is no sign that the hope in the potentials and possibilities discussed here is not extinguished the moment the focus is turned to post-placement domestic voluntarism in the communities of

the Big Society. The claims made of critical perspectives and residing affects hold within the temporal limits of this thesis, but would carry more weight were they documented over a longer period after placement. It would be ambitious, but it might just fortify the hope we have witnessed on placement with the potentials and possibilities of global citizenship as they emerge in the spaces of international volunteering.

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12th June 2012

Mark Griffiths  
Department of Geography



Dear Mark,

**REP(GSSHM)/11/12-28 'British Commitments to Development: The Global Citizen in Big Society.'**

I am pleased to inform you that the above application has been reviewed by the GSSHM Research Ethics Panel that FULL APPROVAL is now granted.

Please ensure that you follow all relevant guidance as laid out in the King's College London Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research (<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/index.php?id=247>).

For your information ethical approval is granted until 11/06/14. If you need approval beyond this point you will need to apply for an extension to approval at least two weeks prior to this explaining why the extension is needed, (please note however that a full re-application will not be necessary unless the protocol has changed). You should also note that if your approval is for one year, you will not be sent a reminder when it is due to lapse.

Ethical approval is required to cover the duration of the research study, up to the conclusion of the research. The conclusion of the research is defined as the final date or event detailed in the study description section of your approved application form (usually the end of data collection when all work with human participants will have been completed), not the completion of data analysis or publication of the results. For projects that only involve the further analysis of pre-existing data, approval must cover any period during which the researcher will be accessing or evaluating individual sensitive and/or un-anonymised records. Note that after the point at which ethical approval for your study is no longer required due to the study being complete (as per the above definitions), you will still need to ensure all research data/records management and storage procedures agreed to as part of your application are adhered to and carried out accordingly.

If you do not start the project within three months of this letter please contact the Research Ethics Office.

Should you wish to make a modification to the project or request an extension to approval you will need approval for this and should follow the guidance relating to modifying approved applications: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>

The circumstances where modification requests are required include the addition/removal of participant groups, additions/removal/changes to research methods, asking for additional data from participants, extensions to the ethical approval period. Any proposed modifications should only be carried out once full approval for the modification request has been granted.

Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the approving committee/panel. In the event of an untoward event or an adverse reaction a full report must be made to the Chair of the approving committee/review panel within one week of the incident.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

If you have any query about any aspect of this ethical approval, please contact your panel/committee administrator in the first instance

(<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/contact.aspx>). We wish you every success with this work.

Yours sincerely

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Daniel Butcher  
Research Ethics Officer

## INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: REP(GSSHM)/11/12-28

**YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET**



### 'Global Active Citizens and Big Societies'

We would like to invite you to participate in this postgraduate research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

### Aims of the Research

The research aims to give a better understanding of "global citizenship" in volunteering programmes – both how it is constructed and how it is experienced. The case studies of the British International Citizen Service (ICS) and the Indian organisations Pravah and Swechha are to be used to explore the nature of global citizenship and volunteering for young people in two different geographical contexts.

### Recruitment of Participants

Participants will have been involved in either International Citizen Service (ICS), Pravah or Swechha as volunteers. As a participant you will be either ready to depart to or returning from your overseas placement.

### What does Participation Involve?

Participation will involve a group activity in a 'focus group', you will be asked to talk about and 'map' your impressions of your placement country and the idea of "global citizenship" (please note that no prior knowledge of global citizenship is required). Focus groups will last no longer than one hour.

Participants may also wish to take part in a one-to-one interview. This would be at your convenience and would involve discussing some of the issues that come out of the focus groups.

Both the focus groups and interviews are to be recorded, subject to your permission. Recordings are deleted upon transcription.

Focus groups will take place for outgoing volunteers at the training venue used by ICS, Pravah or Swechha prior to departure. For returning volunteers this will take place at the venue of the domestic placements at the end of the period abroad. Individual interviews will take place at the interviewee's convenience. Time, date and location are open to the volunteer's preference. Interviews are designed to last no longer than one hour, though may overrun, should the interviewee wish.

Please note that participation and consent are by no means 'final'. You may withdraw AT ANY TIME during the research process. This means that you may also withdraw any data/information you have provided up until it is transcribed for use in the final report (1<sup>st</sup> June 2013).

### What are the Benefits?

The study will provide an important perspective on international volunteering, citizenship and the state and will, hopefully, be of interest in all who are involved in the international volunteering sector.

For volunteers in particular, recording your experiences will be of benefit to future volunteers as you are part of the first group of young people to have this experience. Contributing to the study will also serve to have your voice heard on many issues that might interest you in your studies and future career.

All participants will receive a copy of a research summary at the conclusion of the study. A full pdf of the finished thesis will, of course, be available on request upon completion in April 2014.

### Confidentiality

The study will take a number of measures to ensure that data collected complies with the Data Protection Act 1998. If you agree to take part our meeting will be recorded, subject to your permission. Recordings will only be accessible by me in an encrypted folder and will be deleted once they have been written up into the final report. I will also ask for your consent to use personal information in written reports (destination, organisation, role etc), if you wish to remain anonymous you have the right to do so and should check the appropriate box on the consent form. Should you do so all of the information you provide will be anonymised. Finally, if you subsequently decide to withdraw from the study all of the information you provide will be omitted from written reports.

For more information you can contact the head researcher:

Mark Griffiths  
King's College London  
Room K6.28 Department of Geography  
Strand  
London WC2R 2LS

mark.griffiths@kcl.ac.uk

If this study has harmed you in any way you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Dr. Jamie Lorimer  
King's College London  
Room K7.51 Department of Geography  
Strand  
London WC2R 2LS

jamie.lorimer@kcl.ac.uk

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form

## CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: 'Global Active Citizens and Big Societies'

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(GSSHM)/11/12-28

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

- |   | Please tick or<br>initial |
|---|---------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to the point of transcription for the final report (1<sup>st</sup> June 2013).</li> </ul> | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.</li> </ul>   | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I consent to my participation being recorded.</li> </ul>   | <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I wish to remain anonymous in written reports of this research.<br/>(If you check this box, all references to your identity will be anonymised.)</li> </ul>  | <input type="checkbox"/>  |

Participant's Statement:

I \_\_\_\_\_

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed

Date

Investigator's Statement:

I \_\_\_\_\_

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed

Date